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THE
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LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME

A Literal Translation

FROM THE TEXT OF MADVIG

WITH

*HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, SUMMARY TO EACH BOOK
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES*

BY

A FIRST-CLASSMAN



Oxford

JAMES THORNTON, HIGH STREET

1879

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PREFACE.

THIS TRANSLATION is intended especially for Passmen at Moderations, and is literal, but, I hope, not slavishly so. The Introduction is meant to give such an account of the political condition of Rome, both with regard to foreign and to home affairs, as is necessary for understanding the history of the period, but does not profess to enter into elaborate details. I have added a few words on Livy's authorities, but have not thought it necessary to discuss at length his trustworthiness as an historian: a difficult question, and one hardly falling within the requirements of those students for whom the book is intended. In compiling the notes, I have chiefly made use of the commentaries of Drakenborch, Stroth and Doering, Raschig, and Prendeville; but have very seldom noticed variations of reading.

OXFORD: *October* 1879.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

I. Position of Rome in B.C. 400, A.U.C. 353.—At the commencement of the period contained in these three books of Livy, Rome had not yet fairly started on her career of conquest. The only communities actually absorbed by her were the cities in her immediate neighbourhood, such as Alba, which had been annexed at an early period of her history; but she was at the head of a confederation of semi-independent Latin cities, the chief of which were Tibur, Gabii, Lavici, Praeneste, Tusculum, Bovillae, Aricia, Corioli, Lanuvium, Laurentum, Lavinium, Ardea, and the military colonies of Velitrae, Satricum, Cora, Norba, Setia, and Circeii on the Volscian frontier. The presidency of this confederacy, which had formerly belonged to the ancient city of Alba Longa, was transferred to Rome on the destruction of that town and the absorption of its inhabitants, but the great festival of the Latin race on the Alban mount was still retained as a symbol of common origin and a bond of national union. At this festival forty-seven Latin cities participated in the religious ceremonies, but in the federal council that met to deliberate on matters affecting the league, only the original thirty cities possessed the right of voting. Each city appears to have had its own laws and to have been governed, like Rome, by two annually elected praetors, though in some we hear of dictators. The citizens of the several states possessed the right of living and trading, but not of exercising any political functions, in the other confederate cities, all of which were bound together by community of language and religion. The Confederation consisted of two distinct parts: the thirty Latin cities on the one hand and Rome on the other. In ancient times the military commander had

been furnished by these two parties alternately, and all the cities claimed full equality of rights with one another and with Rome; but gradually, as Rome grew more powerful, the privileges of the allies passed into abeyance, and, though self-government was still permitted them, they lost the right of making war and peace, and became in effect subjects of Rome. The army was composed of Romans and Latins in equal proportions, the several contingents of the latter being kept separate.

The territory of the confederacy, including that of Rome itself, did not comprise the whole of the country afterwards called Latium. It was bounded on the north by the Tiber, on the east by the Apennines, on the south by the Alban Hills and the Pomptine Marsh, and on the west by the sea. On the northern bank of the Tiber lay the Etruscans, formerly the most highly civilised and powerful nation in Italy, but now declining. Still Veii, the nearest to Rome of the twelve Etrurian states, was a rival that it tasked the whole strength of the Romans to subdue, and had not the other cities at this time been obliged to defend themselves against the inroads of the Celts from the north, there can be little doubt that the Roman and Latin League must again have proved too weak to resist the whole power of Etruria, and perhaps another Etruscan general might have marched in triumph to Rome, as Lars Porsena had done immediately after the banishment of the Tarquins. On the eastern frontier at the opening of this period Rome was at peace; her old enemies the Aequi and Volscians were tranquil, and her faithful allies, the Hernici, who lay between their territories, acted as a guard on that side. Thus she was enabled to turn her undivided attention to the war with Veii, and to train her army for further conquest by the military experience acquired in the long struggle with that city.

II. The Roman Constitution at the beginning of this period had nearly attained its most perfect development. The administrative and executive power rested with the Senate and the Curule Magistrates (dictator, consul, praetor, and curule aediles); the legislative, and (in the more important cases) the judicial, with the Senate and the Comitia.

The Senate consisted of three hundred members, who held the dignity for life unless degraded by the Censors; but the honour was not hereditary. Vacancies were filled up by the Censors every five years from those who had

held the Quaestorship or any superior office. All senators were thus necessarily acquainted with the practical business of the state, and the management of foreign affairs especially was always in their hands, though the formal declaration of peace or war rested with the *Comitia Centuriata*. Matters of war, finance, and religion were also transacted by the Senate, and no law could be proposed to the *Comitia* without their consent; while decrees of the Senate (*senatus-consulta*) were legally binding unless specially repealed by the people or vetoed by their tribunes. The *Comitia Curiata*, or assembly of the thirty patrician *Curiae* retained only the formal right of conferring the *imperium* or military authority on magistrates (Livy, v. 52, *infra*, p. 114, n. 2).

The *Comitia Centuriata* was the ultimate sovereign power in Rome: it was based on the local tribes established by Servius Tullius, and at this time twenty-one in number. Each was probably divided into five property-classes, and each property-class sub-divided into two centuries, one of *Seniores* and one of *Juniores*; thus, with the eighteen centuries of the *Equites*, there would be in all 228 centuries. The number of tribes was afterwards increased to thirty-five, and that of the centuries consequently to 368. The order of voting among the tribes was decided by lot, and the first to vote, called the *Prerogative tribe*, was usually followed by a majority of the rest, on account of the omen: Livy, v. 18, iii. 51, xxiv. 7 (showing that the order of the centuries in the prerogative tribe itself was decided in the same way), and xxvi. 22. The jurisdiction of the *Comitia Centuriata* applied to the election of magistrates, the enactment of laws, the decision of peace and war, and all trials affecting the *caput* (*i.e.* life or citizenship) of any Roman. In all criminal cases a citizen had the right of appeal (*provocatio*) to the *comitia* of the centuries.

Many of the privileges of the two last-mentioned bodies had been usurped by the *Comitia Tributa*, consisting, unlike the *Comitia Centuriata*, exclusively of plebeians. It was convened and presided over by the tribunes of the commons, and by the Valerian and Horatian Laws (in the year of Rome 305) it was decided that plebiscita or resolutions of the tribes should be binding on patricians and plebeians alike: ‘*ut quod tributim plebes iussisset populum teneret*’ (Liv. iii. 55).

Magistrates.—Before a Roman could attain to the highest dignity of the state, it was necessary for him to pass through

the inferior offices. These were the Quaestorship, or office of paymaster; the Aedileship (plebeian as well as curule), or office of civic government and police; and the Praetorship, or judicial office (Liv. vii. 1). The chief ordinary magistrates were the Consuls, who were at the head of the state and the army. They convened and presided in the Senate and the Comitia Centuriata, and carried their resolutions into effect; they had power of life and death over their soldiers, and in the city they were attended by lictors with rods and fasces. About the period to which these books of Livy relate, the people, disgusted with the haughtiness of the consuls, had annually elected military tribunes with consular authority, who, being more numerous, were less likely to unite in oppressing the commons. In times of national emergency it was usual for the Senate to direct one of the consuls to appoint a Dictator, or magistrate with absolute power, for six months, though he rarely held office for many days (Liv. ii. 18, v. 2, *infra*, p. 18, n. 3).

If for any reason the consuls or military tribunes did not hold elections to appoint their successors, an interregnum was proclaimed. The interrex could only remain in office for five days, when, if the elections had not taken place, he nominated another to take his place (Liv. i. 17). The highest dignity of Rome was the Censorship, which was only held by men who had previously been consuls (*consulares*.) The two Censors were elected every five years, but only held their office for a year and a half (Liv. iv. 24). Livy describes their functions thus (iv. 8): ‘*morum disciplinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen, senatus equitumque centuriae, decoris dedecorisque discrimen sub dicione eius magistratus, publicorum ius privatorumque locorum, vectigalia populi Romani sub nutu atque arbitrio essent.*’ Their duties were (1) to take the census, or valuation of the property of every Roman citizen, necessary for the assessment of the property-tax, and for determining to which of the five property-classes each citizen belonged; (2) to fill up all vacancies in the Senate and the Equites; (3) to punish at their own discretion acts of public or private immorality, luxury, &c., by degrading senators and equites, and by expelling them or any other citizens from their tribe (*tribu movere*, iv. 24), and thus depriving them of all political rights; (4) to superintend the whole finances of the State, under the direction of the Senate, letting out the taxes to the *publicani* (tax-farmers: they belonged to

the Equites) for their tenure of office (the *lustrum*, or period of five years); and overseeing all public works.

The Tribunes of the Commons were the representatives, executive officers, and at the same time the leaders and controllers, of the plebeian assembly, the *Comitia Tributa*. Their power was very great; they could (and sometimes did, vi. 35 *seq.*) veto all measures proposed by the consuls and Senate, and prevent any elections being held, or any army raised (v. 16 *mid.*). As their persons were sacred (*infra*, p. 31, n. 4), they were free from all control, while they themselves could seize and imprison even the highest magistrates (v. 9 *mid.*). The only check which the Senate had on their proceedings was to persuade one of the ten to veto (*intercedere*) the measures of his colleagues (v. 2 *end.*, vi. 35).

III. Patricians and Plebeians.—The Patricians were the original burgess families who had united under Romulus to found Rome. They were divided in his time into three tribes: the Ramnes, or Romans of Romulus; the Tities, or Sabines of Titus Tatius; and the Luceres, or Etruscans, who assisted Romulus in his war with the Sabines. Though this account of their origin is no doubt mythical, still it probably indicates how the governing body of Rome came into existence: of course we need not accept the names of its founders. Each of the tribes contained ten *curiae*, and each curia ten *gentes*: the thirty *curiae* formed the *Comitia Curiata*, the sovereign assembly of the patricians. The Patricians alone were the original *Populus Romanus*: the Plebs was at first an alien body, and did not come into being till the annexation of Alba (by Tullus Hostilius, according to the legends), when the whole population was removed to Rome. A few only of the chief families were admitted into the patriciate, but the great mass remained without political rights, up to the reforms attributed to Servius Tullius, who substituted thirty local tribes, containing both patricians and plebeians, for the three patrician tribes; these Servian tribes afterwards formed the *Comitia Tributa*, from which, however, the patrician members were excluded. At the same time the chief political power was transferred to the *Comitia Centuriata*, composed of both orders, arranged in classes according to the assessment (*census*) of their property. All citizens possessing 12,500 *asses* and upwards (about 125*l.*) were divided into five, or, counting the Equites,

six classes, the rating being 12,500, 25,000, 50,000, 75,000, 100,000; and for the Equites 400,000 *asses*. The Equites, who furnished the cavalry, consisted of eighteen centuries, two-thirds plebeian. Each of the other classes in the period treated of in these three books of Livy was subdivided into two centuries, one of Seniores, from the age of forty-six to sixty; the other of Juniores, from seventeen to forty-five; the latter only (except in emergencies, v. 10) being liable to military service. The system was essentially military, and every citizen was obliged to provide his own arms and equipment. The votes were given by centuries (hence the name of the assembly), each century giving one, though the number of members in each varied greatly; the centuries of the wealthier classes were much smaller than those of the poorer, and the seniores of course would be less numerous than the juniores.

At the time of the siege of Veii the commons had already won many of their most important privileges from the patricians. By two secessions to the Sacred Mount (*inf.* p. 26, n. 3) they had obtained their tribunes, recognition of the authority of the Comitia Tributa (see § II.), and confirmation of the right possessed by every citizen of appealing to the people (*provocatio ad populum*) against the sentence of any magistrate. Afterwards they carried the Lex Canuleia (permitting intermarriage between the two orders), and the temporary substitution of military tribunes with consular authority (who might be elected from either the patricians or the commons, v. 2 and 12), for the unpopular office of consul (iv. 6). Neither the consulship nor the censorship was as yet thrown open to the commons (vi. 35, vii. 22).

Besides the claim of the plebeians to be admitted to offices of state, there were two other important causes of difference between the orders—viz. the law of debt and the agrarian law. The Roman soldiers were almost entirely small landowners, who farmed just enough land to maintain themselves and their families. During their enforced absence in the field, their farms were neglected, and on their return home they were compelled to borrow money at usurious interest to purchase seed for the next crop and food for themselves in the meantime. The only capitalists were the patricians, who, being at the same time the chief legislators, rendered the laws of debtor and creditor ex-

ceedingly severe. If the borrower was unable to pay, he was seized by his creditor and compelled to work as a slave (called *addictus* or *nexus*) until the debt was paid off: he was chained and flogged, and sometimes even put to death, at the pleasure of his tyrannical master. To remove this gross injustice was the object of one of the Licinian Rogations (Liv. vi. 35 seq.).

The other long-standing grievance of the plebeians was the unfair distribution of the land belonging to the state, the *Ager publicus*, which consisted of the estates that had formerly belonged to the kings, largely increased by land taken from conquered enemies by right of war. This land was leased by the state; but as the patricians held the chief political power, they distributed the public land among themselves, paying only a nominal rent and in course of time coming to look upon it as their absolute property. Thus the commons were excluded from participation in what they had themselves won by their courage and sacrifices. The agrarian question was never thoroughly settled; law after law was passed giving the commons their rights; the first was that of Spurius Cassius, A.U.C. 266 (Liv. ii. 41), revived by the tribune Genucius and the consul Caeso Fabius: Licinius Stolo (vi. 35), and afterwards the Gracchi, partially succeeded, but only for a short time; the problem became more complicated the longer it remained unsolved; and, by abolishing the small farmers altogether and thus swelling the numbers of the Roman mob, the exclusive possession of the land by wealthy proprietors led ultimately to the ruin of Italy and Rome.

IV. *Historical Authorities.*—Writing in the latter part of the reign of Augustus, more than four hundred years after the siege of Veii, Livy of course has no pretence to the weighty authority of a contemporary historian. He derived his information from ancient public records and from annalists who lived nearer the events they describe than he himself did. Of the former class were the ‘*magistratum libri, quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores*’ (iv. 20). Livy does not appear to have seen these *libri linteii* himself; they had probably perished in the burning of Rome by the Gauls, when most of the old records were lost (vi. 1). There were also the *Fasti* or *Annales Maximi*, so called because kept by the Pontifex Maximus, which are styled by Livy the *commentarii pontificum* (vi. 1) and by Horace (*Epp.* II. i. 26) *pontificum*

libri. The only documents which we know to have survived the great fire alluded to above are those which were engraved on bronze, like the Twelve Tables of the Decemvirs, the *Leges Regiae*, some old treaties (*Hor. Epp.* II. i. 25), &c., which were preserved for some time afterwards, though they now only exist in fragments. Thus, as Livy himself points out, the authentic history of Rome can hardly be said to begin before the capture of the city by the Gauls. The annalists quoted by him (for the most part unknown to us otherwise) are Q. Fabius Pictor (*scriptorum antiquissimus*: i. 44, xxii. 7) and Valerius Antias (iii. 5, xxv. 39, &c.): the former a contemporary of the Second Punic War (xxii. 7); the latter, of Cicero and Lucretius. Livy seldom quotes Valerius with approval; he says of one of his statements, 'adeo nullus mentiendi modus est' (xxvi. 44; cf. xxxiii. 10, 'omnium rerum immodice numerum augens'). Other later authorities are C. Licinius Macer, a contemporary of Valerius Antias; L. Calpurnius Piso, who was consul in the year of Rome 620 (B.C. 134); Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, 'qui annales Acilianos (*Cic. De Off.* iii. 32) ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem vertit' (xxv. 39: cf. vi. 42, ix. 5, &c.), a contemporary of Marius; and one or two others. None of the works of these early historians have come down to us.

The chronology of early Roman history is, as might be expected from what has been said above, very confused. We use two modes of computation, one by the years before Christ, the other, the Roman method, by the years after the foundation of Rome, which is fixed by the great antiquarian Varro in the year 753 B.C.; so that e.g. B.C. 400 is the same as A.U.C. (*anno urbis conditae*) 353. It must of course be recollected that in the former reckoning the years are counted backwards, in the latter straight forwards.

SUMMARY OF BOOK V.

THE siege of Veii, now in its third year, is kept up throughout the winter, the Roman army being for the first time lodged in winter quarters in the field. This is made a handle for attacking the Government by the tribunes of the commons, who complain bitterly of the heavy burden laid upon the citizens, and of the banishment of so many Romans from the city. Appius Claudius, one of the consular tribunes, replies, pointing out that more work may reasonably be demanded from the soldiers now that they receive pay for their services: reminding them of all the wrongs and insults they have suffered at the hands of the Veientians; and warning them not to render all the vast siege-works that have been raised ineffectual by withdrawing the army before the city is taken: not to encourage the enemy, perhaps in alliance with all Etruria, to carry the war into Roman territory; above all, not to loosen military discipline and diminish the terror of the Roman arms by making operations in the field dependent on party strife at home. The dispute was ended by a strong manifestation of patriotic spirit consequent on the destruction of the Roman siege-works by a sortie of the Veientians; the equites, who had not been called upon to serve before now, came forward with an offer to join the army on horses of their own, and the commons, not to be behind-hand, volunteered to serve out of their turn. The army at Veii, thus reinforced, suffered severely from an unexpected attack by the Capenatians and Faliscans, assisted by the besieged themselves: the camp of Sergius, one of the Roman commanders, was taken and severe loss inflicted, because through private enmity his colleague Verginius withheld assistance. Both generals hotly disputed the matter at Rome, and to end the contest, and at the same time get rid of incompetent men, the Senate directed all the military tribunes to resign their office at once, two months before the regular time, so that new ones might be appointed. Sergius and Verginius protested against this, but were forced to yield by Servilius Ahala, one of their colleagues, who threatened to name a dictator; thus obviating the necessity of interference by the tribunes of the commons.

The siege of Veii still continued, and wars were waged

A.U.C.
351.
B.C. 408.

A.U.C.
352.
B.C. 402.

A.U.C. at the same time with the Capenatians, Faliscans, and
353. Volscians of Anxur. This of course necessitated a large
B.C. 401. addition to the army and consequently to the taxation, both
of which pressed heavily on the people and diverted their
attention from the elections, so that the full number of
plebeian tribunes was not made up. The two vacant
places were filled by co-optation of tribunes by the mem-
bers already elected, contrary to the provisions of the
Trebonian law.

To escape the popular resentment at this proceeding,
the implicated tribunes brought Sergius and Verginius,
the military tribunes of the preceding year, to trial for
their misconduct, and they were sentenced to a heavy fine.

The plebeian tribunes obstinately opposed the levy and
the collection of the tax, until they prevailed on the people
to elect one of the consular tribunes from among the com-
mons: Licinius Calvus was the first plebeian who ever held
this office. Next year, elated with their victory and well
pleased with the conduct of Licinius in office, the people
elected all the military tribunes but one from the commons.
Their tenure of power, however, was not fortunate: a pes-
tilence committed great ravages both among men and
cattle, and in obedience to the Sibylline books a lectis-
ternium or banquet of the gods was celebrated at Rome
for the first time in order to avert it. Severe fighting also
took place at Veii, but resulted in a success for the Romans.
For the following year the patricians, by great exertions
and by pointing to the anger of the gods, as shown by the
epidemic, at the highest dignities of the state being en-
trusted to plebeians, succeeded in having the military
tribunes elected exclusively from themselves.

A.U.C.
356.
B.C. 398.

About this time the Alban lake rose to an extraordinary
height without any ostensible cause. Envoys were sent to
Delphi to enquire into the meaning of this prodigy, but
while they were absent an old Veientian soothsayer was
taken prisoner, who informed the Senate that Veii would
never be captured until the Romans drained off the waters
of the lake without letting them reach the sea. His ex-
planation of the wonder was disregarded till the Delphic
envoys returned with an answer similar to that which he
had given, when he was held in great honour.

A.U.C.
357.
B.C. 397.

Punishment was inflicted on the Tarquinians for an un-
provoked attack on Roman territory. While the Alban
lake was being duly drained of its superfluous waters, it

was discovered that the celebration of the Latin and Alban festivals was null and void, as the magistrates who superintended them had been informally appointed. Fresh military tribunes were accordingly elected, among them Licinius Calvus, who being now of advanced age persuaded the people to appoint his son in his stead.

A.U.C.
358.
B.C. 396.

A reverse was sustained in the field and large reinforcements of Etruscan volunteers reached Veii: in consequence of this, Camillus was made dictator, and, as all the orders of the gods had now been scrupulously obeyed, he set out for Veii confident of success and determined to bring the war to a close, first raising a large army and vowing splendour offerings to the gods. After retrieving the defeat sustained by the Roman troops at the hands of the Capenatians and Faliscans, he began to strengthen the siege-works at Veii and to run a mine into the very citadel of the enemy: and then, seeing the city on the point of capture, he wrote to the Senate for instructions as to the disposal of the plunder.

Appius Claudius proposed that it should be paid into the treasury; but the motion of Licinius Calvus was carried, that all who chose might proceed to the camp to share in the spoil. The dictator, after vowing a tenth of what was taken to Apollo and inviting Juno to remove from Veii to Rome, ordered a general assault to be made on the walls, while a body of picked troops entered the citadel through the mine. Veii was taken by storm, in the tenth year of the siege: A.U.C. 358, B.C. 396. Immense booty was won, and the statue of Queen Juno was conveyed to Rome and placed in a temple built for her reception by Camillus on the Aventine. Great were the rejoicings in Rome, and the dictator's triumph was the most splendid that had ever been seen: his chariot was drawn through the city by white horses, to the displeasure of many who thought it impious for any man thus to vie with Jove and Apollo.

To discharge the vow made by Camillus, it was resolved, to the great offence of the people, that each man should pay to the treasury a tithe of the spoil that had fallen to his share. It was proposed that a colony should be founded among the Volscians; but the commons had set their minds higher, and demanded that the population of Rome should be equally divided and one half sent to Veii, so as to form one state of two cities with equal rights. This proposition

A.U.C.
359.
B.C. 395.

was strenuously resisted by the patricians, especially Camillus, who declared, moreover, that the city and land of Veii were liable to the tithe which he had vowed to Apollo. Gold was accordingly purchased by the state, the women selling their ornaments for the purpose, to make a large bowl to be dedicated at Delphi. Next year Camillus, while engaged in besieging Falerii, distinguished himself and materially served his country by a signal act of justice and humanity in refusing to avail himself of the treachery of a Faliscan schoolmaster, who brought a number of the sons of the leading citizens to the Roman camp. Struck by this generosity, the Faliscans surrendered, and were let off on payment of a sum of money. The golden bowl for Apollo was sent to Delphi next year; the envoys were intercepted on the voyage by the pirates of the Lipari Islands, but hospitably treated and escorted on their way in safety by the pirate chief Timasitheus, to whom presents were made by the Senate.

A.U.C.
360.
B.C. 394.

Consuls were elected for the year of Rome 361, the first time for fifteen years. The party contests at Rome were carried on with great violence: two of the late tribunes of the commons were brought to trial for supporting the Senate against their own colleagues in reference to the proposed removal to Veii, and, in spite of the efforts of the patricians, were fined 10,000 *asses*. Camillus increased his unpopularity by vehemently protesting against this, and by his resolute opposition to the obnoxious proposal itself, which was at length defeated by the exertions and entreaties of the patricians. Seven acres a man of Veientian land was given the commons as a compensation.

A.U.C.
362.
B.C. 392.

During a pestilence that prevailed next year the censor died, and another was substituted in his room: a measure afterwards avoided as of ill-omen, for Rome was taken in that lustrum. A short and successful war with the Volsinians followed, and in the same year a supernatural voice was heard to say that the Gauls were approaching, but the warning was neglected. Camillus, accused of misappropriating some of the spoil of Veii, went into exile to avoid certain condemnation, and was fined 15,000 *asses* in absence.

A.U.C.
363.
B.C. 391.

Ambassadors now came from Clusium asking aid against the Gauls, who had been led to that city by one of the citizens named Arruns, to avenge a private wrong. They had crossed the Alps 200 years before into the

Etrurian territory, which formerly covered all between the two seas from the Tiber to the Alps. In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus an immense body of Gauls, finding their own country over-peopled, crossed the Alps under Bellovesus and built Mediolanum. Other tribes followed and overran all Etruria, the last comers, the Senonians, being those who attacked Clusium. No direct help was given the Clusines by Rome, but three ambassadors of the Fabian family were sent to endeavour to persuade the Gauls to leave Clusium unmolested. This they refused to do unless land were given them, and in the battle that ensued between them and the Clusines the Roman ambassadors fought on the side of the latter. The Gauls thereupon, giving up the war with Clusium, sent to Rome demanding the surrender of the three Fabii for this breach of international law; but the people, far from complying with this request, elected the offenders military tribunes for the year. The Gallic army immediately marched to Rome, without molesting the cities they passed on the way, and encountered the Romans eleven miles from the city on the little river Alia. The forces opposed to them were mostly raw troops, greatly inferior to them in number and badly commanded, for the Romans had taken no proper precautions against the danger that threatened them. Accordingly, the Gauls won an easy and decisive victory: the greater part of the Roman army that escaped fled to Veii, and those who made their way to Rome were so panic-stricken that they made no attempt to defend the city. Fortunately the Gauls, not comprehending the full extent of their victory, did not enter the city till next day: this gave time for the combatants to retire into the Capitol and for the great mass of the people to withdraw to the neighbouring towns. The older men, in their most splendid dress, seated themselves in their open halls and waited for death. The greater part of the city was at once burnt by the enemy and the inhabitants who remained were put to the sword, but in an assault on the Capitol the Gauls were repulsed with severe loss, and forced to have recourse to the slow process of blockading, sending off large detachments to obtain supplies from the surrounding country. One of these detachments marched to Ardea, where Camillus was living in exile, and was there destroyed by a night attack made on their camp by the Ardeatians under the command of that general. An Etruscan army which had

A.U.C.
384.
B.C. 390.

invaded the Veientian territory met a similar fate at the hands of the Romans in Veii.

A.U.C.
364.
B.C. 390.

During the long siege of the Capitol several gallant feats were performed by the Romans. A young man of the Fabian family descended from the hill in broad day and passed through the Gallic outposts to perform a solemn sacrifice yearly offered by his family on the Quirinal hill. The Romans at Veii were daily growing stronger and bolder, and, wishing to have Camillus in command, they sent a messenger to the Senate in the Capitol and obtained a formal recall of the exiled general. But the Gauls had noticed the footprints of the messenger, and one night they attempted to scale the rock as he had done. They reached the summit undetected by the sentinels, but the loud cackling of the geese sacred to Juno awoke Marcus Manlius, just in time for him to hurl down the foremost Gaul and rouse his comrades. Thus the Capitol was saved: but famine pressed heavily on the garrison, worn out also as it was by continual watching, and as day after day passed, and still the dictator did not come, the besieged were obliged at last to make terms with the Gauls, who on their part were weary of the blockade, having lost large numbers of their men through famine and pestilence. A thousand pounds of gold was the ransom fixed: but while this was being weighed, Camillus came up with his army and broke off the negotiations. A battle took place among the ruins and again a few miles from the city: in both the Romans were victorious, and in the latter the Gallic host was destroyed to a man.

The Romans now set themselves to the task of restoring their city. The temples were purified, Capitoline games founded, and a chapel built to the warning Voice that had foretold the Gallic invasion. The tribunes, however, wishing to save the people the labour of rebuilding Rome, proposed that they should migrate in a body to Veii; and it required all the influence of the patricians and their leader Camillus to thwart this plan; nor would they, perhaps, have succeeded in doing so but for a chance saying which seemed an omen for them to remain in Rome. Building materials were furnished by the state, and within the year (A.U.C. 364) the city was restored, though hastily and irregularly.

LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOKS V.-VII.

BOOK V.

THOUGH peace was enjoyed in other quarters, the Romans and Veii were in arms with such rage and animosity that it was evident that ruin awaited the vanquished. Elections were held in the two nations in very different ways. The Romans increased the number of military tribunes with consular power. Eight,¹ a number greater than ever before, were elected: Manius Aemilius Mamercinus for the second time, Lucius Valerius Potitus a third time, Appius Claudius Crassus, Marcus Quinctilius Varus, Lucius Julius Iulus, Marcus Postumius, Marcus Furius Camillus, Marcus Postumius Albinus. The Veientians, on the contrary, through disgust at the annual intriguing, which was sometimes the cause of disturbances, elected a king. This offended the minds of the states of Etruria,² not more from their hatred of kingly government³ than of the king himself. He had before this become obnoxious to the

1.

¹ *Octo.* : *cf.* vi. 37, n. 5.

² *Populorum Etruriae*: *i.e.* the twelve states of which Etruria consisted: the capital was Volsinii.

³ *Regni.* After the expulsion of the Tarquins the words 'rex' and 'regnum' were always used by Romans in an invidious sense, equivalent to our 'tyrant' or 'usurper': *cf.* ch. 2, 'quod. regnum exercerent.' Livy transfers this prejudice to the Etruscans. The Etruscan princes were called Lucumones: p. 79. n. 7.

nation¹ through his wealth and haughtiness, because he had violently broken off the regular performance of the games² (the omission of which is an impiety), by suddenly, in the middle of the sports, withdrawing the performers,³ a great part of whom were his own slaves, through resentment for a repulse,⁴ because another had been preferred to him as priest by the vote of the twelve nations. [The Etruscans,] therefore, a race the more devoted beyond all others to religious ceremonies⁵ because they excelled in the art of conducting them, decreed that aid should be refused the Veientians so long as they were under a king. All talk of this decree was suppressed at Veii through fear of the king, who regarded anyone by whom any such thing was reported to have been said⁶ as a leader of sedition, not merely as the author of an idle rumour. Although⁷ it was announced to the Romans as being quiet⁷ in Etruria, still, because word was brought that this matter was being debated in all their assemblies, they built their siege-works⁸ in such a manner that their fortifications faced both ways,⁹ some turned towards the city, to

¹ *Genti*: the Etruscan nation. The word implies a common origin, unlike 'populus,' which is used in a purely political sense.

² *Solennia ludorum*: a Greek construction often used by Horace. 'Vilia rerum,' *Epp.* I. xvii. 21: 'abditæ rerum,' *A.P.* 49: *C. IV.* iv. 76 and xii. 19: cf. ch. 29, n. 6.

³ *Artifices*: cf. vii. 2, 'Vernaculis artificibus, quia hister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum.'

⁴ *Iram repulsæ*: the objective genitive = 'iram ob repulsam' or 'propter repulsam': cf. i. 5, 'ob iram prædæ omissæ:' iv. 50, 'metu quaestionum iraque:' iv. 57, 'ob iram dictatoris creati:' viii. 29, 'vulnerum ira:' xxvii. 7, 'ob similis iram fugæ.'

⁵ No national festivals could be held without religious ceremonies, of which the Etruscans were very scrupulous: their seers and soothsayers had a great celebrity and were looked upon as the inventors and highest authorities in the art: see ch. 15, 'hostibus Etruscis, per quos ea [prodigia] procurarent, haruspices non erant.' Cf. i. 34.

⁶ *Dictum referretur*: cf. 'acceptum referre,' to set down on the debit side of one's account. 'Acceptum referimus alicui aliquid si illud inter ea referimus quæ ab eo accepimus, i.e. eius beneficio tribuimus:' cf. ch. 22.

⁷ *Res quietæ*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 515, 'res incognita' (= mystery). i. 563, 'res dura' (= hardship).

⁸ *I.e.* at Veii.

⁹ *Ancipitia*: lit. two-headed, from *amb-* and *caput*: applied to a two-edged axe, &c.; ch. 13, 'ancipiti proelio.'

resist any sallies by the townsmen; while by others¹ a front looking towards Etruria was opposed to any² auxiliaries that might happen to come from that quarter.

Since the Roman commanders had more hope in a blockade than in an assault, winter quarters also, a novelty to Roman soldiers, began to be built, and their intention was to continue³ the war by wintering there. After word of this was brought to Rome to the tribunes of the commons, who for a long time had found no pretext for commotion,⁴ they rush into the assembly,⁵ they excite the passions of the people. 'This is the meaning,'⁶ they assert continually, 'of pay being appointed for the soldiers; nor had it escaped their notice⁷ that that gift of their enemies⁸ would be smeared with poison. The liberty of the commons had been [bought and] sold:⁹ their young men, removed for ever and banished from the city and from the state, did not now yield even to winter or the season of the year, and visit their homes and private affairs. What did they suppose¹⁰ was the reason for making military service continuous? They would assuredly find that it was no

2.

¹ *Aliis* = 'per aliam unimenta': a curious change of the subject of the verbs. Notice that words compounded with *ob* (like *obstruatur*) imply damage or opposition: 'obstare salutis,' ch. 5. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 64.

² *Qua* = 'aliqua,' as usual after *si* or *ne*.

³ *Continuare*: to maintain without any cessation: sometimes used of place: i. 44, 'ut... aedificia moenibus continuarentur.'

⁴ *Novandi res*: cf. i. 52, 'novantem res,' stirring up revolution (*res novae*).

⁵ *Concio*, a public assembly which was addressed by speakers: hence also the speech itself.

⁶ *Hoc illud esse, quod*: i.e. 'hanc illam causam esse, cur...' Cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 664. 'Hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignes, eripis, ut...' Did your rescue of me mean this, that I... Gr. τοῦτο ἔρα ἦν;

⁷ *Fefellisse*: οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτοῖς.

⁸ A gift received from an enemy never brought good luck. *Veneno illitum* perhaps alludes to the poisoned shirt which Nessus persuaded Deianira to send to Hercules, and which devoured his flesh: or to the bridal gifts of Medea to Jason's bride, which had a similar effect.

⁹ *Venisse*: from *veneo* = *venum eo*, to go to sale.

¹⁰ *Putarent*: question of *oratio obliqua*: v. 20, 'censerent.'

other than the fear that something could be done for their interests by means of the full attendance of those young men in whom the whole strength of the commons lay. Besides, they were harassed and worked much more severely than the Veientians, inasmuch as the latter were passing the winter under their own roofs, protecting¹ the city by its excellent walls and strong natural position alone, while the Roman soldier in his tent² endured hardship in toil and labour, exposed to snow and frost, not laying aside his arms even in winter time, which is a season of rest from all wars by land and sea. Neither the kings,³ nor those consuls, so haughty before the tribunician power was created, nor the stern authority of the dictator, nor the overbearing decemvirs, had ever laid on them such slavery⁴ as to make military service perpetual. What despotic power were military tribunes exercising in the midst of the commons of Rome? What would these men have done as consuls or dictators who have made even the proconsul's⁵ shadow of office so savage and threatening? But this happened not undeservedly. Even among eight military tribunes there had been no room for a single plebeian.⁶ Formerly the patricians were wont to fill

¹ *Muris situque naturali urbem tutantes*: i.e. the fortifications were so strong that they required but little guarding. Cf. 'natural loci ac vallo, non virtute aut armis, tutabantur' (iii. 42).

² *Sub pellibus durare*: the Roman tents, or rather huts, were made of skins: the phrase answers to our 'under canvas.' *Durare* = vitam tolerare.

³ *Reges*, &c. A list of the rulers of Rome before consular tribunes were elected. *Tribuniciam potestatem*, i.e. of course, the tribunate of the commons, which had been established 92 years before, in the year of Rome 260 (Liv. ii. 33), to curb the power of the consuls. The decemvirs (Liv. iii. 33) were appointed A.U.C. 302 to draw up a code of laws which should be binding on all classes and on the magistrates: but they had abused their unlimited power to make themselves despots. The dictatorship was only a temporary office, rarely lasting more than a few days. See Introduction.

⁴ *Hoc... servitutis*: stronger than 'hanc servitutum': 'such a degree of slavery.'

⁵ *Proconsularem*: we are not to take this in the definite sense which it acquired in later times, when Roman provinces were governed by pro-consuls. The same expression is applied to a military tribune, iv. 41, 'tribunus militum pro consule' (= consularis: v. 25).

⁶ *Ulli plebeio*: the military tribunate was open to both orders,

three places with the utmost exertion; *now* they go eight abreast¹ to take possession of office, and even in such a crowd not a single plebeian can get a footing,² who, if [he could do] nothing else,³ might remind his colleagues that their soldiers were free men and fellow-citizens of theirs, not slaves; and that in winter at any rate they ought to be brought back to their homes and roofs, and at *some* time of the year to visit their parents, their children, and their wives, to exercise⁴ the privileges of freemen, and to elect their magistrates.'

While they exclaimed in these and similar terms, they found an adversary quite their match in Appius Claudius, who had been left behind⁵ by his colleagues to quell the disturbances excited by the tribunes: a man well acquainted even from youth with contests against the commons, and who several years before, as has been mentioned,⁶ advised the breaking up of the tribunician power by means of the veto of some of the members.

Being naturally not only ready-witted but well-trained also by experience, he delivered the following speech on this occasion: 'If it was ever a matter of doubt, citizens of Rome, whether it is for your sake or their own that the tribunes of the commons have always promoted sedition, I am certain⁷ that this year that has ceased to be a matter of doubt; and while I rejoice that an end has at last been put to your long delusion, I also congratulate you, and on your account the state, that the delusion has been removed in your prosperity rather than at any other time. Is there anyone who can

3.

but no plebeian had ever yet been elected (v. 12). The law 'ut tribuni militum consulari potestate promiscue ex patribus ac plebe crearentur' was passed A.U.C. 310 (Liv. iv. 6).

¹ *Octoiugus*: from horses being yoked side by side to chariots: cf. *biugus*, &c.

² *Haerere*: contemptuous: 'get in by the skin of his teeth.' Ter. *Eun.* V. viii. 25, 'ut haeream in parte aliqua tandem apud T.'

³ *Si nihil aliud*: cf. ii. 43.

⁴ *Usurpare*: cf. p. 41, n. 3.

⁵ *Relictum*: not alone however: cf. *infra*, ch. 7, 'ut tribuni militares . . . gratias agerent.'

⁶ Cf. iv. 48. *Auctor*: 'the suggestor or first mover:' iv. 48, v. 15.

⁷ *Certum habeo*: a foreshadowing of the modern use of *habere* as an auxiliary verb, like 'cognitum habeo.'

doubt that by no wrongs done by us, if any such have perchance¹ been committed at any time, have the tribunes of the commons ever been offended and provoked to such a degree as by the free gift of the patricians to the commons, when pay was appointed for soldiers on service?² What else do you suppose that they either feared before, or wish to disturb to-day, but the good feeling between the orders,³ which they believe is chiefly calculated to destroy the tribunician power?⁴ And so, by Heaven! like extortionate workmen, they seek for work, they desire⁵ that there should always be some unsound part in the state, in order that there may be something for the cure of which they may be employed by you. For⁶ are you defending or attacking the commons? Are you the adversaries of the men on service, or are you pleading their cause? Unless perchance you will say this: "Whatever the patricians do, whether it be for or against the commons, is displeasing to us:" and, as masters forbid men belonging to others to have anything to do with their own slaves,⁷ and think it

¹ *Si quae forte*: cf. p. 17, n. 2: but here the indic. shows that the fact is admitted.

² *Aera militantium*: pay had been given to the soldiers for the first time in Roman history only a short time before (iv. 59).

³ *Ordinum*: i.e. the patricians and the commons.

⁴ *Dissolvendae trib. potestatis esse*: cf. iii. 24, 'frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse': *ib.* 31, 'quaeque aequandae libertatis essent': iv. 48, 'dissolvendae libertatis esse': xxvii. 9, xxxviii. 50, &c. In this form of expression we may supply 'proprium': 'belongs to, is a sign of, the dissolution of the tribunician power.' Sometimes the dative is used in the same way: ii. 9, 'qui oneri ferendo essent': iv. 35, 'sitne aliquis plebei ferendo magno honori' (i.e. 'qui honorem ferre possit'): *ib.* 43, 'non ducem scribendo exercitui esse' (i.e. 'non ducem esse, qui exercitum scribere possit'): xxvii. 25, 'remp. esse gratiae referendae': xxx. 9, 'quae obsidioni tolerandae sunt' (= 'quae obsidionem tolerabilem reddere possunt'): *ib.* 6, 'quae restinguendo igni forent.' Cic. *Epist. ad Fam.* iii. 8, 'cum solvendo civitates non essent': 'were not solvent.' *Aptus, idoneus*, or some such word, may be understood in this case, as in 'triumviri agro dando,' &c.

⁵ It makes much better sense to leave out the 'qui.'

⁶ *Enim*, like the Greek γὰρ, often (as here) refers to something which is not expressed, but may be readily supplied by the reader: 'This is what you are really doing: for...' Cf. xxii. 39, 'M. Metilius tr. pl. id enim ferendum esse negat.'

⁷ The construction is: 'vetant esse alienis hominibus quicquam rei cum servis.' *Abstineri*: impersonal pass.: cf. Cic. *De Sen.* vii. 22,

right that they should equally refrain from kindness and unkindness as regards them, you, in the same way, interdict [us] patricians from all intercourse with the commons, for fear lest by our courtesy and liberality we should challenge [the regard of] the commons, or lest we should have them listen and be obedient to our words. How much rather, I ask, if there were in you anything of the feeling, I do not say of fellow-citizens, but of human beings, ought you to show us more favour, and, so far as lay in your power, to encourage the goodwill of the patricians and the ready obedience of the commons? If this concord were perpetual, who would not venture to engage¹ that in a short time this empire would be the greatest among our neighbours?

‘I will explain by-and-by how not only useful but even necessary was this plan of my colleagues, according to which they were unwilling to withdraw the army from Veii before the siege was completed. I wish now to speak of the actual condition of soldiers on service; and this speech I think would appear just, not only before you, but even if it were delivered in the camp with the army itself as judge.’² And in it, even if nothing could occur to myself to say, I would certainly be content with the speeches of my opponents. They maintained lately that pay ought not to be given to the soldiers, because it never had been given. How, then, can they be indignant now, that fresh labour should be imposed in due proportion on those on whom some fresh advantage has been bestowed? Nowhere is there either trouble without reward, or reward, for the most part, without the expenditure of trouble. Labour and pleasure, things most unlike by nature, are united by a kind of natural connection. Formerly the soldier used to think it hard that he should give his services to the

4.

‘male rem gerentibus patribus (dative case) bonis (abl.) interdicti solet.’

¹ *Spondere*: ‘to go bail,’ both in the legal and the slang sense. *Ausit*, pres. subj. of *audere*: an old form (probably orig. optative) like *velim*, *sim*, &c.

² *Disceptante*: ‘with the army for umpire:’ *cf.* i. 50, ‘disceptatorem sumptum.’

state at his own expense; but at the same time¹ he used to be glad to cultivate his own land for a part of the year, and earn whereby² he might maintain³ himself and his family at home and in time of war. He rejoices now that the state is a source of profit to him,⁴ and gladly receives his pay. Let him therefore bear with patience that he is a little longer absent from home and his family affairs, to which no heavy expense is [now attached]. If the state were to call him to account,⁵ might it not fairly say: "You have a year's pay, give a year's work. Do you think it just that you should receive a whole year's wages⁶ for six months' service?" I am unwilling to linger in this part of my speech, citizens; for men who employ mercenary troops ought to proceed in this way. We wish to treat our men as fellow-citizens, and we think it right that they should treat us⁷ as their country.

'Either the war ought not to have been undertaken, or it ought to be carried on suitably to the dignity of the Roman people, and finished as soon as possible.⁸ Now, it will be finished, if we press the besieged closely, if we do not withdraw till we have brought our hopes to completion by the capture of Veii. In truth,⁹ if there were no other motive, the very disgrace of the thing ought to impose perseverance. For ten years

¹ *Idem*: often equivalent to 'is tamen,' 'sed is.'

² *Unde* = 'pecuniam, quâ . . .'

³ *Tueri*: cf. Verg. *G.* ii. 195, 'armenta . . . tueri.'

⁴ *Fructui sibi esse*: the double dative ('commodi'): cf. 'exitio est avidum mare nautis.' Often without the pronoun: 'argumento ait clades' (v. 44).

⁵ *Ad calculos vocare*: cf. Cic. *De Am.* xvi. 58, 'hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum.' *Calculi*, pebbles or counters used in reckoning.

⁶ *Solidum stipendium*: cf. i. 19, 'solido anno.' Hor. *C. I.* i. 20, 'nec partem solidò demere de die.'

⁷ *Nobiscum*: i.e. the citizens of Rome, then assembled: the governing power, and hence identified with the state.

⁸ *Quam primum*: *primum*, being equivalent to a superlative, takes the same construction as e.g. 'quam celerrime' (*ὅς ταχίστα*).

⁹ *Hercules*: the oath or expletive is usually 'Hercule' or 'Hercle,' or 'Mehercle.'

was a city¹ once besieged on account of one woman by the whole of Greece. How far from home! How many lands, how many seas distant! We are reluctant to endure a siege of a year's duration within twenty miles² of us, almost in sight of our own city. Because, forsooth,³ the cause of the war is slighted, and there is no resentment sufficiently just to stimulate us to persevere! Seven times have they raised war afresh. They have never been sincerely at peace with us; they have ravaged our territory a thousand times; they have compelled the Fidenatians to revolt from us;⁴ they have slain our colonists in that town; contrary to all law,⁵ they were⁶ the advisers⁷ of the impious murder of our ambassadors; they wished to rouse all Etruria against us, and are employed at it this very day; they were very near outraging our ambassadors when they demanded restitution.

‘Ought war to be waged leniently or dilatorily with such men as these? If such a just quarrel has no influence on us, will not even the following, let me ask you? Their city is encircled with vast siege-works, by which the enemy is confined within their walls; they have not cultivated their land, and all that was cultivated has been devastated by war. If we lead back our army, who can doubt that they will invade our territory, not only from eagerness⁸ for vengeance, but also because

5.

¹ *Urbs*: i.e. Troy, which was besieged by the Greeks to recover Helen.

² *Vicesimum lapidem*: Veii was not more than twelve miles from Rome, almost due north, and near the little river Cremera. It was an Etruscan town: πρόσχημα τῆς Τυρρηνίας, Plutarch calls it (*Vit. Camilli*, 2): ἔκλων μὲν ἀριθμῷ καὶ πλήθει τῶν στρατευομένων οὐκ ἀποδείκνυται τῆς Πώμης. *Lapidem* of course means ‘milestone.’

³ *Scilicet*: ironical, as usual. *Satis* with *iusti*. *Rebellarunt*: ‘Volsci, ferocior ad rebellandum quam ad bellandum gens,’ vii. 27.

⁴ *Cf.* iv. 31.

⁵ ‘Contra ius [gentium].’

⁶ *Fuere*: according to Orelli, this weakened form of the perfect is used to express the true aoristic meaning, as distinguished from the preterite definite: thus ‘fuere’ = they were: ‘fuerunt’ = they have been.

⁷ *Auctor*: p. 19, n. 6.

⁸ *A cupiditate*: ‘inspired by eagerness:’ *cf.* vi. 2, ‘ab contemptu ad bellum profectis,’ xxiv. 30, ‘ab ira interfectae stationis.’

the necessity of getting plunder from the property of others is imposed upon them, since they have lost their own? We are not therefore putting off war by this design, but receiving it into our own territory. What! how stand those considerations which peculiarly belong to the troops, from whom these worthy tribunes of the commons formerly desired to wrest their pay, but for whose interests¹ they are now so anxious all of a sudden? They have drawn a rampart and trench²—both works of immense labour—through a great distance; they have made forts³—few at first, but afterwards, when the army was reinforced, very numerous; they have raised defences facing not only towards the city, but also towards Etruria, if any succour should come from that quarter.⁴ Why need I mention the towers,⁵ the vineae, the testudines, and other apparatus for attacking cities? After so much labour has been spent, and we have now at length reached the end of our task, is it your pleasure that all this should be abandoned, so that in the summer a fresh labour may again be undergone in forming them anew? How much less difficult is it to maintain the works already executed; to press on and persevere, and get rid of⁶ our short task! For the matter is cer-

¹ *Quibus consultum volunt*: lit. 'for whom they desire what is for their interest.'

² *Vallum fossamque*: with which a Roman camp was always surrounded. *Ducere* is the ordinary word for the building of a wall, &c.

³ *Castella*: cf. Caes. *De Bell. Gall.* vii. 69, 'Castra opportunis locis erant posita, ibique castella tria et viginti facta; quibus in castellis interdiu stationes disponebantur, ne qua subito eruptio fieret: haec eadem noctu excubitoribus ac firmis praesidiis tenebantur.'

⁴ Cf. ch. i. end.

⁵ *Turres*: either fixed towers erected on the *agger* (p. 29, n. 3) to command the enemies' ramparts with stones, darts, &c.; or moveable, huge structures covered with raw hide to resist fire, sometimes 40 or 50 feet square and of great height, which were moved forward on wheels close up to the walls. Probably, however, the former kind is here intended.

Vineae were mantlets or sheds of wood and hurdles, covered with earth or raw hide: they were pushed forward on wheels, and sheltered the assailants in working the ram or undermining the walls. The *testudo* was a similar moveable shelter.

⁶ *Defungi* means to put up with some loss or inconvenience for

tainly short, if it is carried out with a uniform course of exertion, and if we do not ourselves render our hopes longer in being attained by these breaks and interruptions. I am speaking of the labour and loss of time: why, do these frequent councils of Etruria¹ about sending aid to Veii permit us to forget the peril which we encounter by putting off the war? As matters now stand, they are angry and displeased, they refuse to send any help: so far as they are concerned, we are at liberty to take Veii. Who would engage that, if the war is postponed, their temper will continue the same hereafter? since, if you give them any remission, more important and more numerous embassies will set out; and since that which now offends the Etruscans, the creation of a king at Veii, may, after some time has elapsed, be altered, either by a general resolution of the state, in order to reconcile the minds of Etruria thereby, or by the free will of the king himself, who may be unwilling that his own tenure of royal power should be an obstacle to the welfare of his citizens. You see how many consequences and how injurious² follow that line of conduct: the loss of the siege-works erected with so much labour, the threatening devastation of our frontiers, and an Etruscan war excited instead of a Veientian. These, tribunes, are your proposals, pretty much the same, in truth, as if anyone for the sake of present food or drink should render a disease chronic, and perhaps incurable, in a patient who might immediately recover his health if he would resolutely submit to proper medical treatment.

‘By heavens!’³ even if it made no difference to this

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the sake of avoiding a greater: *cf.* ii. 35, ‘*unius poena defungendum esset patribus*’: iii. 5, ‘*pari defunctam esse caede*’: iv. 52, ‘*defuncta civitate plurimorum morbis*’: xxix. 21, ‘*non levi defuncturum poena*.’ In Greek ἀπαλλοτρεσθαι is used in the same way.

¹ *Cf.* iv. 61, ‘*cum Etruscorum concilium ad fanum Voltumnæ frequenter habitum esset, parum constitit bellone publico gentis universæ tuendi Veientes essent*.’

² *Inutiles*: *cf.* iii. 33, ‘*concordia inter ipsos, qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis esset*.’ The figure of speech called *Meiosis*, or using a weak term when a much stronger one is implied.

³ *Medius fidius* = ‘*ita me dius fidius adiuvet, uti verum est quod*

war, it would certainly be of the greatest importance to military discipline that our soldiers should be accustomed, not only to enjoy a victory ready prepared to their hand, but, even if things should not be so easy of attainment, to endure the tediousness, and to await the issue of their hopes, however late, and if the war be not finished in the summer to wait for the winter, and not, like summer birds, to look out for shelter and a place of retreat as soon as autumn begins. Let me entreat you: the excitement and pleasure of hunting hurries men through snow and frost to the mountains and forests,¹ and shall we not apply that patience to the exigencies of war which even sport and pleasure are wont to call forth? Do we suppose that the bodies of our soldiers are so effeminate, their hearts so feeble, that they are unable to endure one winter in camp and to be away from their home? or that they wage a kind of naval war, by taking advantage of the weather and by observing the season of the year, but are not able to suffer heat or cold? They would assuredly blush if anyone were to lay this to their charge,² and would protest that manly endurance existed both in their minds and their bodies, that they could carry on wars in winter and summer alike, and that they had not charged the tribunes with the task of protecting effeminacy and indolence; that they remembered that their ancestors had created this very power³ neither in the shade nor beneath their roofs. This is worthy of the valour of your soldiers and of the Roman name, not to have in view Veii only, or this war which is now on our hands, but to seek a reputation for hereafter for other wars and

dicto.' Two explanations are given of this phrase: one, that 'fidius' is an adj. from 'fides,' so that 'dius fidius' = *Zēds πιστος*: the other, that 'dius' is a gen. case or an adj. (the two are etymologically identical) of *Zēds* (Jovis), and 'fidius' = 'filius' (for *d* = *l*, cf. *δάκρυ* and 'lacrima') so that 'dius fidius' = 'Jovis filius,' i.e. Hercules.

¹ Cf. Hor. *C. I.* i. 25. 'Manet sub Jove frigidus Venator tenerae coniugis immemor.'

² *Obiiciant*: 'cast in their teeth:' cf. p. 17, n. 1.

³ *Hanc ipsam potestatem*: i.e. the office of tribune, which had been won by the commons encamping in arms on the Sacred Hill, two miles outside of Rome (Liv. ii. 32).

for all other nations. Do you consider the difference between men's opinions¹ that will result from this matter as trifling? [the difference,] I say, whether our neighbours believe that the Roman people are of such a nature that if any² city shall sustain their first attack, and that of very short duration, it need have no fear afterwards: or whether the terror of our name should be such that neither the tediousness of a distant³ siege nor the rigour of winter can move a Roman army from a city once blockaded, that it knows⁴ no other end to a war than victory, and that it wages war not so much by impetuosity as by perseverance?—which is necessary, indeed, in every kind of warfare but above all in besieging cities, most of which, as they are impregnable⁵ by fortifications and natural position, only time can conquer and take by hunger and thirst, as it will take Veii, unless our tribunes of the commons lend their aid to the enemy⁶, and the Veientians find at Rome the assistance which they seek in vain in Etruria. Is there anything which can befall the Veientians so much in accordance with their wishes as that first the Roman city, then, as it were by contagion, the camp, should be filled with sedition? Verily, among our enemies so great is the self-restraint that not a single innovation has taken place⁷ among them, either through weariness of the blockade or even⁸ of the government of a king, nor has the refusal of help by the Etruscans irritated their minds. For whoever is a promoter of sedition

¹ *Mediocre discrimen opinionis secuturum*: i.e. that men's opinions will not be vastly different if we persevere or if we withdraw the troops.

² *Qua*: cf. p. 17, n. 2.

³ *Longinquae* may be either 'prolonged' or 'far away (from Rome).'

⁴ *Noverit*: i.e. 'exercitus Romanus': change of subject.

⁵ *Inexpugnabiles*: at this early period, when Rome did not yet possess a standing army, the means of attacking cities were much less efficacious than they afterwards became.

⁶ *Auxilio hostibus tr. pl. fuerint*: cf. p. 22, n. 4.

⁷ *Novatum sit*: p. 17, n. 4.

⁸ *Denique*: generally used in summing up a number of details and introducing a climax: 'in a word,' 'finally,' 'in short,' &c. Here it means no more than 'even.'

will die immediately, nor will anyone be allowed to say those things which are said amongst you with impunity. A man who leaves his standard or quits his post earns the *bastinado*:¹ people who advise² not one or two soldiers but whole armies to leave their standards and desert the camp are openly listened to in the assembly: so quietly are you accustomed to listen to whatever the tribune of the commons³ says, although it involves⁴ the betrayal of your country and the ruin of the state: ensnared with the attractions of that authority, you permit all sorts of crimes to lie concealed beneath it. It only remains for them to carry out in the camp among the troops what they vociferate here, and to corrupt our armies and not suffer them to obey their commanders: since this, in a word,⁵ is liberty at Rome, to respect neither Senate nor magistrates nor laws, neither the customs of our ancestors, nor the institutions of our fathers, nor military discipline.⁶

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Appius was even already a match for the tribunes of the commons in public speeches,⁶ when suddenly a disaster sustained at Veii [from a quarter] whence one would have least expected it, rendered Appius superior in the debate, and also rendered the harmony between the different orders⁷ greater, as well as the ardour for carrying on the siege of Veii more pertinaciously. For after the mound⁸ had been pushed forwards to the city,

¹ *Fustuarium*. Soldiers guilty of cowardice or other serious offences were touched with a cudgel by the military tribune, and then assailed by their comrades with sticks and stones, very rarely escaping with their life: cf. Polybius, vi. 35. The punishment was sometimes inflicted on officers: Vell. Pat. ii. 78, 'Calvinus Domitius . . . gravissimi comparandique antiquis exempli auctor fuit: quippe primipili centurionem (*i.e.* the chief centurion in the legion, in command of the first century of the *triarii*: Liv. ii. 27), nomine Vibillum, ob turpem ex acie fugam fusti percussit.'

² *Auctores*: p. 19, n. 6.

³ *Tribunus plebi*: an old form of the gen. *plebei* from *plebes*, which is found side by side with *plebs*: cp. *die*, gen. of *dies*, *fide*, &c. Hor. and Verg.

⁴ *Prodendae* . . . est: p. 20, n. 4.

⁵ *Denum*: cf. on *denique*, p. 27, n. 8.

⁶ *Concionibus*: p. 17, n. 5.

⁷ *Ordinum*: p. 20, n. 3.

⁸ *Agger*: a mound of earth, held together by wood and hurdles,

and the vineae were now all but ¹ in contact with the walls, while the works are carried on with more care by day than they are guarded by night, a gate was suddenly thrown open and a great multitude, armed chiefly with torches, scattered flames in every direction, and in a moment of time ² the fire devoured at once the mound ³ and the vineae, the work of so long a time: and many men, ⁴ bringing aid in vain, were there cut off by the sword and by fire. When this was reported at Rome, it struck all with sorrow, the Senate with anxiety and fear also that the disaffection could now no longer be withstood either in the city or in the camp, and that the tribunes of the commons would triumph ⁵ over the state as though it were vanquished by themselves; when suddenly those who had the property necessary for being knights ⁶ but to whom no horses belonging to the state had been assigned, after holding a meeting among themselves, proceed to the Senate, and, having obtained permission to speak, they promise to serve ⁷ on their own horses. When thanks were returned to them by the Senate, in the most complimentary terms, and the report of the matter spread through the forum and the city, the commons suddenly flock together to the Senate-house: it is now [the duty] of the pedestrian order, they

used in sieges. It was gradually advanced (*promotus*) towards the town, and increased at the same time in height until it overtopped the walls. Towers (p. 24, n. 5) were erected on it from which darts and stones were discharged by engines.

¹ *Tantum non*: Gr. *μὲν οὐκ*. *Vineae*: p. 24, n. 5.

² *Horae momento*: cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. i. 7, 'horae Momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.' The same as 'puncto mobilis horae': Hor. *Epp.* ii. 2, 172.

³ For the setting on fire the woodwork of an *agger*, cf. Caes. *De B. G.* vii. 24, and *Bell. Civ.* ii. 14 (where a sentence very similar to this occurs: 'ita multorum mensium labor hostium perfidia et vi tempestatis puncto temporis interiit'). The large quantity of wood required is shown by the next chapter (*De Bello Civili* ii. 15): 'omnibus arboribus longe lateque in finibus Massiliensium excisis et convectis, aggerem . . . instituerunt.'

⁴ *Mortales* = 'homines': not often so used, except by Livy.

⁵ For the original meaning of *insulto*, cf. Hor. *C.* III. iii. 40, 'Dum Priami Paradisque busto Insultet armentum.'

⁶ *Census equester*: i.e. 400,000 sesterces (about 3,500*l.*).

⁷ *Stipendia facit.*: lit. 'earn the military pay:' serve a campaign.

say, to promise¹ their services to the state out of the usual routine, whether they wish to lead them to Veii or anywhere else: if they are led to Veii they assert that they will not return from thence before the enemy's city has been captured. Then, indeed, it was hard to moderate the joy that now overflowed all bounds: for they were not ordered to be praised like the knights (the task of doing so being assigned to the magistrates), nor were [deputies] summoned into the Senate to receive an answer, nor did the Senate confine themselves within the doors of the house; but everyone for himself with voice and hands from the higher ground gave expression to the public joy to the multitude standing in the assembly². They declared that by such unanimity the Roman city was blessed and unconquerable and eternal: they praised the knights, they praised the commons, they extolled the day itself with praise,³ they confessed that the courtesy and goodwill of the Senate was surpassed. Tears of joy flowed down the cheeks of patricians and plebeians alike, until the Fathers were recalled to the House and a decree of the Senate was passed that the military tribunes, having summoned a public assembly, should thank the foot-soldiers and the knights, and say that the Senate would not forget their loyal affection⁴ towards their country, but that they thought it best that pay should go on for⁵ all those who had undertaken voluntary service out of their turn: to the knights also a fixed sum of money was assigned. Then horse-soldiers began to serve on their own horses for the

¹ I omit the *se* and *que*, bracketed by Madvig. We are not to suppose that there ever was a technical *ordo pedestris* at Rome: it is merely a sort of pun on *ordo equestris*, which was a regular phrase.

² *Comitium*: a part of the Forum in front of the rostra and close to the doors of the Senate (*curia*).

³ *Laudibus ferre*: a poetical phrase: Verg. *Aen.* iv. 11, v. 373, &c., Liv. iv. 49, *init.*

⁴ *Pietas* is affectionate service, to whomsoever due: parent, country or God.

⁵ *I.e.* that they should receive pay and continue to count their campaigns after having served the requisite number: and those who volunteered before being called out in the regular course were

first time.¹ The volunteer army being led to Veii, not only restored the works which had been lost, but also reared new ones. Supplies from the city were conveyed with more attentive care than before, that nothing might be lacking for the use of an army that had deserved so well of their country.

The following year had as military tribunes with consular authority Gaius² Servilius Ahala for the third time, Quintus Servilius, Lucius Verginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Manlius for the second time, Manius Sergius for the second time. In their tribunate, while the attention of all was fixed on the Veientian war, the garrison at Anxur was neglected through many of the soldiers being off duty,³ and through the indiscriminate admission of Volscian traders; the guards at the gates were betrayed, and the garrison suddenly⁴ overpowered. The fewer soldiers perished because all except the sick were trafficking throughout the neighbouring country and towns like pedlars. Nor were matters better managed at Veii, which was⁵ then the chief object of

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to begin to count their campaigns and draw their pay from that time forward. *Aera* = 'stipendia.'

¹ So that henceforth there were two kinds of equites: those who served on horses belonging to the state ('equites equo publico': Cic. *Phil.* vi. 5, 13) and those who served on their own: the latter *not* belonging to the regular centuries of the knights, and receiving pay for their services—perhaps, however, only enough to maintain their horses.

² *Gaius*: in old Latin *c* was used for *g*: thus in the Columna Rostrata, erected in honour of the Consul Duilius, who won the first naval victory for the Romans (A.U.C. 494, B.C. 260), we find *pumandod*, *lecioncs*, *Carthacinienses*, *effociont* (effugiant), &c. Afterwards, when the letter *g* was used, *c* became = *k*: it was *never* pronounced soft (like *s*) in classical Latin. The old abbreviations, however, were retained: thus Kal. = Calendae: C. = Gaius, Cn. = Gnaeus. It may be as well to remark that in Latin the initial of the praenomen is fixed and unvarying: thus *M. always* means Marcus, *M'* Manius, *Q.* Quintus, *L.* Lucius, *A.* Aulus, *T.* Titus, *Ti.* or *Tib.* Tiberius, *R.* Rufus, *P.* Publius, *D.* Decimus, *App.* Appius, and *K.* Kaeso.

³ *Vacatio* is not quite the same as *commeatus*, which signifies 'furlough,' i.e. leave to quit the camp altogether for a time.

⁴ *Reperito* with *oppressum est*.

⁵ *Veis ... quod caput ... erat*: a case of attraction of the relative to the gender of the complement: cf. iv. 59, 2, 'Anxur fuit quae nunc Tarricinae sunt.' Epistle to the Galatians, iii. 16, *τὸ πρῶτον ἐσὺ, ὥς ἐστι Χριστός*. Cic. *Pro Murena*, 'Ille quod est firmamentum.'

all the public anxiety; for the Roman generals had more quarrels among themselves than spirit against the enemy, and the war, too, was aggravated by the sudden arrival of the Capenatians and Faliscans. These two nations of Etruria, believing, because they were next in position,¹ that after Veii was conquered they would themselves also be next exposed to war with Rome (the Faliscans being also provoked for a private reason, because they had already once before mixed themselves up with a Fidenatian war); binding themselves together with an oath by means of envoys sent from one to the other, arrived unexpectedly with their armies at Veii. They happened to attack the camp in that direction where Manius Sergius, military tribune, was in command, and struck great terror, because the Romans believed that all Etruria was aroused from its homes and was upon them in a great mass. The same belief roused the Veientians in the city. Thus the Roman camp was assaulted with a twofold² battle, and while they were rushing about and shifting their standards hither and thither, they could neither keep the Veientians properly within their fortifications,³ nor ward off violence from⁴ their own works and defend themselves against the enemy on the outside. There was only one hope, viz. that aid should come from the larger camp, so that the legions should fight in different quarters, some against the Capenatians and Faliscans, others against the sortie of the townsmen: but the commander of that camp was Verginius, who privately was hated by and hated⁵ Sergius. When word was brought that most of the forts⁶ were assaulted and the

¹ Capena was not more than ten or twelve miles north of Veii, and Falerii about twice the distance. Fidenæ was an advanced post of the Etruscans on the south bank of the Tiber, long a bone of contention between Etruria and Rome, but now held by a colony of the latter (iv. 31).

² *Anceps*: p. 16, n. 2.

³ *Munitiōes*: i.e. the walls of Veii.

⁴ *Arceere munimentis* = 'arceere a munimentis': vii. 26, 'littoribus arceantur.'

⁵ *Infestus* is active: 'qui vim infert.'

⁶ *Castella*: p. 24, n. 3.

entrenchments scaled, and that the enemy were attacking on both sides, he kept his men under arms, asserting that his colleague would send to him if there were any need of assistance. The obstinacy of the other was as great as this man's arrogance: that he might not seem to have sought any¹ aid from an opponent, he chose to be conquered by an enemy rather than to conquer by means of a fellow-citizen. For a long time his troops were slaughtered between the two fires: at last, abandoning their works, a very few made their way to the larger camp, the greatest part, and Sergius himself, to Rome. Where, since he threw all the fault on his colleague, it was resolved that Verginius should be summoned from the camp, and that in the meantime the lieutenant-generals² should hold the command. The affair was then debated in the Senate and the contest between the two colleagues was carried on with mutual abuse. Few take the side of³ the State: [they support] the one or the other [of the rivals], as regard or influence had privately prejudiced each.

The principal senators were of opinion⁴ that whether so shameful a defeat had been sustained through the fault or the ill-fortune of the commanders, the regular⁵ time of the elections should not be waited for, but new military tribunes should be created immediately to enter office on the calends of October.⁶ When they

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¹ *Quam*: p. 17, n. 2.

² The *legatus* was a military officer appointed by the commander-in-chief and ranking above the tribunes.

³ *Adrunt*: 'stand by,' i.e. to assist. Hor. *Sat.* I. ix., 38; Liv. iii. 14, 'adesse in foro' (both instances legal terms); vii. 26, 'dii hominesque illi adfuere pugnae.'

⁴ *Censeo* implies a formal resolution, not a mere expression of opinion.

⁵ *Iustum*: applied to all things 'quae talia sunt, qualia esse debent:' to a battle (very often), iv. 27, v. 49: a war, i. 15: a river, i. 4, 'iustus amnis' (i.e. 'intra iustos suos fines currens'); a levy, v. 16: honours, xxviii. 42.: 'iusto comploratu,' xxv. 26; &c.

⁶ *Calendis*: the first of every month was called 'calendae' (abbreviated, *Kal.*); the 5th, 'nonae:' but in

March, July, October, May,

The Nones are on the seventh day.'

On the 13th (but in the above-named months the 15th) came

were dividing¹ in favour of this resolution, the other military tribunes made no objection; but Sergius and Virginius, on whose account it was evident that the Senate was dissatisfied with the magistrates of that year, first deprecated² the disgrace, then protested against the decree of the Senate: they declared that they would not go out of office before the ides of December, the usual day for entering on magistracies. On this the tribunes of the commons, whilst in the general harmony and the prosperity of the State they had unwillingly kept silence, suddenly becoming confident began to threaten the military tribunes, that unless they submitted to the authority of the Senate³ they would order them to be led to prison. Then Gaius Servilius Ahala, a military tribune, said: 'As far as you and your threats are concerned, tribunes of the commons, verily⁴ I would willingly put it to the proof how there is no more legality in them than spirit in

the ides, eight days after the nones (whence the name of the latter, from *novem*). The days were counted backwards from the calends, nones, and ides, both the day from, and the day to, which the reckoning is made being counted in: thus, the 3rd of April is called the third day before the Nones (5th), which would be written either 'ante diem tertium nonas Apriles' (= 'tertio die ante nonas': abbreviated, 'a. d. iii. Non. Apr.'), or 'tertio nonas Apriles': the former being the commoner way. The 18th of April would be the fourteenth day before the calends of May ('a. d. xiv. Kal. Maias'). The day next before the Ides, Nones, or Calends was called 'pridie Kal.' &c. February in leap-year (as with us) had 29 days, there being two 24th's ('a. d. sextum Kal. Martias': hence leap-year was called 'bissextilis'). The names of the months were the same as they are now, except that July and August were called 'Quintilis' and 'Sextilis,' the fifth and sixth months of the old Roman year, which began with March: they were renamed after Julius Caesar and Augustus.

¹ *Pedibus iretur*: the Senate voted either 'per sententias exquisitas,' each member stating his opinion separately: or by 'discessio,' when only one or two of the chief senators spoke and the rest divided for or against their propositions, the Ayes going to one side and the Nones to the other, almost the same as in the House of Commons. Anl. Gellius, iii. 18, xiv. 7, 9. Cf. Liv. iii. 41.

² *Deprecari*: the historical infinitive. *Intercedere*: 'vetoed:' ch. 2, end.

³ *In auctoritate sen.*: cf. iii. 21, 'se in auctoritate patrum futuros esse polliciti.'

⁴ *Ne* or *nao* = Gr. *val*.

you : but it is a crime to strive against the authority of the Senate. Do you therefore cease to seek among our quarrels an opportunity for doing mischief, and my colleagues shall either do what the Senate thinks fit, or if they resist¹ too pertinaciously, I will immediately name a dictator to compel them to go out of office.' Since this speech was approved with general assent, and the patricians rejoiced that without the bugbear of the tribunician power another and stronger force had been found to coerce magistrates, overcome by the general unanimity they held the elections,² for military tribunes to take office on the calends of October, and before that day they resigned their magistracy.

While Lucius Valerius Potitus for the fourth time, Marcus Furius Camillus for the second time, Manius Aemilius Mamercinus for a third time, Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus a second time, Kaeso Fabius Ambustus and Lucius Julius Iulus were military tribunes with consular power, much was done both at home and in the field : for there was both a complex war at the same time, at Veii, Capena, Falerii, and among the Volscians, that Anxur³ might be recovered from the enemy, and at Rome there was much distress from the levy and the contribution of the tax at the same time, and there was a dispute about electing tribunes of the commons by co-optation :⁴ the two trials also of those who had been in [possession of] consular authority a little before excited no small commotion. To the military tribunes the chief⁵ thing of all was that a levy should be held ; and not only were the younger⁶ men enlisted, but the older men also were compelled to give in their names to keep the guard of the city. But in proportion as

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¹ For *tendere* thus used absolutely, *cf.* iv. 8, 'haud sane tetendere,' xxiii. 14.

² *Comitia* : *i.e.* 'centuriata.' ch. 52, end.

³ Anxur or Tarracina was a Roman garrison town on the Volscian sea-coast, temporarily (ch. 8) in the hands of the enemy.

⁴ *I.e.* the members already duly elected choosing others to fill up the vacancies.

⁵ *Primum*, first and most important.

⁶ *Juniores* and *Seniores* : *cf.* Introduction.

the number of the soldiers was increased, so much ¹ the more money was needed for pay, and it was raised by a tax, those who remained at home contributing against their will, because they had to perform military duty also, and serve the state by forming the garrison of the city. The tribunes of the commons by their turbulent harangues caused all this, burdensome in itself, to appear still more unjust, by arguing that pay was appointed for the soldiers for this purpose, that they might ruin one half of the commons by military service, the other by the tax. 'A single war was now being prolonged for the third ² year, and was designedly ill managed in order that they might carry it on all the longer. Armies besides were enrolled at one levy for four wars, and even boys and old men were dragged ³ from their homes. There was now no difference between summer and winter, so that there might never be any peace for the wretched commons, who are now at last even made to pay taxes in order that when they have brought home their bodies worn out with toil, wounds, and finally with age, and have found everything at home neglected through the long absence ⁴ of the masters, they should pay taxes out of their ruined property and give back to the state their military pay many times over, as though it had been received on interest.' Between the levy, the tax, and their minds being occupied with care for greater matters, the number ⁵ of tribunes of the commons could not be filled up at the elections. A violent effort was then made that patricians should be chosen by co-optation into the vacancies. When this could not be obtained, still,

¹ *Quantum . . . tanto*, answering one another, though in different cases: cf. Verg. *Aen.* xii. 19; Sall. *Jug.* 85, 'quantum vita illorum praeclarior, tanto socordia horum flagitiosior.'

² *Tertium*: i.e. the army had been permanently encamped before Veii for that time: the war had really lasted five years. Some read 'quintum.'

³ *Extractos*: xxvi. 13, 'in publicum vi extracturos.' Hor. *Sat.* I. i., 11, 'rure extractus in urbem.'

⁴ *Desiderio*: 'desideramus rem, quam abesse aegre ferimus.' The long time they have lacked a master's care.

⁵ *Numerus*: ten.

for the purpose of weakening the tribunician¹ law, it was managed that Gaius Lacerius and Marcus Acutius should be chosen tribunes by the rest, undoubtedly through the influence of the patricians.

Chance so ordered it that Gnaeus Trebonius was tribune of the commons that year, who thought that he owed the defence² of the Trebonian law as a debt due to his name and family. He, loudly protesting that what the patricians had formerly³ desired, though defeated in their first attempt, the military tribunes had at length carried: that the Trebonian law had been overthrown, and tribunes of the commons chosen, not by the votes of the people, but at the command of the patricians: that matters were brought back to this state, that either patricians or the dependants of patricians are to be had as tribunes of the commons: that the sacred laws⁴ were snatched away and the tribunician power wrested from them—this he alleged⁵ was done by the deceit of the patricians and the wickedness and treachery of his colleagues. When not only the patricians, but also the tribunes of the commons (those who had been chosen by co-optation and those who had chosen them alike) were exposed to general animosity,⁶ then three of the college,⁷ Publius Curatius, Marcus Metilius, and Marcus Minucius, alarmed⁸ for their own fate, attack Sergius and Verginius, the military tribunes of the year before: by naming a day of

11.

¹ *Tribunicias*: Pighi conjectured *Trebonias*, which at any rate must be the law in question, so-called from L. Trebonius, tr. pl., who 'rogationem tulit ut qui plebem Romanam tribunos plebi rogaret, is usque eo rogaret dum decem tribunos plebi faceret' (iii. 65).

² *Patrocinium*: cf. ch. 6, 'patrocinium mollitiae inertiaeque mandasse tribunis.' It was the technical word for the relation of a *patronus* to his client.

³ Cf. iii. 64.

⁴ *Leges sacratas*: cf. ii. 33, 1, 'ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti... neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret.'

⁵ *Arguere*: the construction is: 'is... vociferans... arguere' (historical inf.).

⁶ *Ardorent invidia*: Cic. *In Catilinam*, i. 11, 29, 'Tum te non existimas invidiae incendio conflagraturum?' Cf. 'odio flagrare,' &c.

⁷ *Collegium* means any corporate body: here, the ten plebeian tribunes.

⁸ *Trepididi rerum* = 'trep. de rebus suis:' Verg. *Aen.* xii. 589, 'trepididae rerum.' The phrase occurs again, xxxvi. 31.

trial they turn away from themselves on them the anger and dislike of the commons. They assert 'that the right and power of avenging¹ their public and private grief on two guilty men² was given by them to all those who felt the burden of the levy, the tax, the long military service, and the length of the siege, who lament the disaster sustained at Veii, and who have their homes filled with mourning for the loss of sons, brothers, relatives, and kinsmen.³ For the cause of all their troubles rested with Sergius and Verginius, and the prosecutor did not urge that charge more effectually than the defendants acknowledged it, for both being guilty they throw the blame one on the other, Verginius accusing Sergius of running away, Sergius accusing Verginius of betraying him. Their folly had been so incredible that it was much more likely that the affair had been got up by arrangement⁴ by a general fraud of the patricians. Once before an opportunity had been given by them to the Veientians to burn the siege-works for the sake of protracting the war, and now the army was betrayed and the Roman camp given up to the Faliscans. Everything was done in order that their young men might grow old at Veii, and the tribunes might not be able to bring before the people any measures relating to the land⁵ or any other of the interests of the commons, or to carry on⁶ their proceedings with a full attendance of citizens and resist the conspiracy of the patricians. Judgment⁷ had already

¹ *Exsequendi*: 'Following up: bringing home to the guilty.'

² *Capitibus*: cf. Hor. *C. I.* xxiv. 1, 'Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis?'

³ *Propinqui*, kinsmen by birth: *affines*, by marriage.

⁴ *Compacto* = 'ex compacto': Plaut. *Capt.* III. i. 29, 'omnes compacto rem agunt.' Cf. 'composito rumpunt vocem,' Verg. *Aen.* ii. 129: 'portis cum improvise incidissent,' Liv. vi. 33: for 'ex comp.' 'ex' or 'de improvise.'—Drakenborch.

⁵ *Aggis*: by proposing an agrarian law.

⁶ *Celebrare actiones*: 'quemadmodum loca dicuntur celebrari in quae magna hominum frequentia convenit, ita res dicitur celebrari quae saepius factitatur, vel etiam simpliciter, quae peragitur, quae fit.'—Drakenborch.

⁷ *Præiudicium*: 'iudicium praeoccupatum.' Cf. 'praedamnati,' just below.

been passed beforehand on the defendants both by the Senate and the Roman people and by their own colleagues: for they were removed from public affairs by a decree of the Senate, and on refusing to resign their office they were forced to do so by their colleagues through the fear of a dictator, and the Roman people had elected tribunes to enter on their office, not on the ides of December (the usual day), but immediately on the calends of October, because the state could no longer stand ¹ if these men remained in office. And yet they, pierced through and condemned beforehand by so many sentences as they were, came before the people ² for trial, and thought that they had done with ³ the business and had paid a sufficient penalty in that they had become private men two months sooner [than usual], and did not understand that the power of doing mischief any longer was then taken away from them, not their punishment inflicted, inasmuch as the authority of their colleagues had also been taken away, who had certainly done nothing wrong. Let the burgesses of Rome resume ⁴ those feelings which they had had when the recent disaster was sustained, when they saw the army pouring in through the gates in hasty flight, covered with wounds and in terror, blaming, not fortune or any of the gods, but these their generals. They were certain that there was no one standing in the assembly who on that day had not execrated and detested the head, the family, and the fortunes of Lucius Verginius and Manius Sergius. It was by no means suitable that when it was in their power and was their duty to do so they should not employ their power against men on whom they had every one imprecated the anger of the gods.⁵ The gods never lay hands on the guilty them-

¹ *Stare*: i. 3. 'tantisper tutela muliebri . . . res Latina . . . stetit;' iv. 40, 'virtute tua fideque, qua una hoc bello res publica stetit.' Cf. the line of Ennius: 'Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.'

² *Ad pop. iudicium*: i.e. 'populo se iudicandos offerre:' cf. 'reus ad populum.'

³ *Defunctos*: p. 24, n. 6.

⁴ *Repeterent*: imperative of *oratio obliqua*.

⁵ *Iratos*: ii. 45, 'iratos invocat deos.' Verg. *Aen.* xii. 895, 'di me terrent et Jupiter hostis.'

selves: it was enough if they arm the injured with an opportunity of vengeance.'

12.

Urged on by these speeches, the commons condemn the accused to a fine of 10,000 *asses* of weighed brass¹ each, Sergius in vain blaming the common chance of war² and Fortune, Verginius begging that he might not be more unlucky at home than in the field.³ The anger of the people being turned upon them caused the remembrance of the co-optation of the tribunes and the fraud committed against the Trebonian law to be obscured. The victorious tribunes propose an agrarian law,⁴ in order that the commons might have an immediate reward for the sentence they had given, and forbid the payment of the tax, since there was need of so many armies, and matters were carried on in war with such a kind of success⁵ that they never reached the consummation of their hopes. For at Veii the camp which had been lost was recovered and strengthened with forts and garrisons: the military tribunes Manius Aemilius and Kaeso Fabius were in command. By Marcus Furius among the Faliscans and Gnaeus Cornelius in the Capenatian territory no enemy was found outside their walls: booty was carried off, and the country was laid waste by burning the houses and crops:⁶ the towns were neither assaulted nor besieged. But in the Volscian territory, after the devastation of the land, Anxur was assaulted in vain, being situated on high ground, and when force was useless it began to be blockaded with a rampart and trench: the Volsci had fallen⁷ to Valerius

¹ *Aes grave*: weighed bronze: 'quia nondum argentum signatum erat:' iv. 60. The money was in *aerei asses librales*.

² *Mars communis belli*: 'communis deus, modo his, modo illis, favens.'—Doering. The phrase occurs vii. 8, xxviii. 41, xxx. 30.

³ Verginius had not been defeated at all.

⁴ *Legem agrariam*: see Introduction.

⁵ *Ita prospere*: ironical. Some think it is meant seriously, and *ita* merely limits the general statement: 'The war was successful, but...'

⁶ *Frugum*: 'the fruits of the earth:' all kinds of agricultural produce.

⁷ *Volsci provincia exonerat*: attraction of the verb from the subject to the complement: cf. p. 31, n. 5: here the attraction is one of

Potitus as his province. In this posture of military affairs, intestine disturbance broke out with greater violence¹ than the wars were managed: and when the tax could not be collected owing to the tribunes, and the pay was not sent to the generals, and the soldiers clamoured for their military wages, the camp also was near² being thrown into disorder by the contagion of the disturbance in the city. Amid these quarrels of the commons with the patricians, though the tribunes of the commons urged that now was the very time for firmly establishing their liberty and transferring the supreme dignity from Sergii and Verginii to strong and energetic men of the commons, yet they proceeded no further than to make a single one of the commons, P. Licinius Calvus, military tribune with consular power, for the sake of exercising their right:³ the rest elected were patricians, viz. P. Manlius, L. Titinius, P. Maelius, L. Furius Medullinus, L. Publius Volscus. The commons⁴ themselves were surprised at having won so important a point, and not merely the person who had been elected, a man who had filled no post of honour before, being only an old senator⁵ and now

number: cf. 'Amantium irae amoris integratio est.'—Ter. 'Pueri Troianum dicitur agmen,' Verg. *Aen.* v. 602. *Provincia* is used in a wide sense: 'consul, cui classis provincia erat,' xxx. 43 (pro *mandato munere* dicitur). Rome had no foreign *provinciae* at this time.

¹ *Mole*: ch. 8, 'Etruriam omnem excitam sedibus magna mole adesse.'

² *Haud procul erat quin*: ch. 4, end: 'haud procul afuit quin.'

³ *Usurpandi iuris*: cf. iii. 71, 'cuius agri ius nunquam usurparint:' iv. 44, 'non...usurpandi libidine, cum liceat quod ante non licuerit:' v. 2, 'usurpare libertatem:' (also, xxii. 25, xxxiii. 38) = 'libertate, quam habebant, uti, eamque exercere.'

⁴ *Plebes* = 'plebs': cf. p. 28, n. 3.

⁵ *Senator*. First mention of a plebeian senator. Mommsen thinks that shortly after the expulsion of the kings a number of non-patricians was 'added to the roll,' and hence bore the name of *conscripti*. 'This did not at all put them on a footing of equality; the plebeians in the Senate did not become senators, but remained members of the equestrian order, were designated, not *patres*, but *conscripti*, and had no right to the insignia of senatorial dignity, the purple border and the red shoe.' They were 'obliged to rest content with the privilege of being present in silence while the question was put to the patricians in turn, and of only indicating their opinion by adding to the numbers when the division was taken—voting with the feet (*pedibus in sententiam ira, pedarii*), as the

stricken in years: nor is it sufficiently agreed why he was chosen first and in preference to all others to taste of the new honour. Some believe that he was promoted¹ to so high a dignity through the popularity of his brother,² Gnaeus Cornelius, who had been military tribune the year before, and had given triple³ pay to the knights: others that he himself delivered a well-timed speech on the harmony of the orders, acceptable to both patricians and commons. Exulting in this victory at the elections, the tribunes of the commons abated their opposition to the tax, which was the greatest hindrance to the administration of public affairs. The money was paid submissively and sent to the army.

13. Anxur in the Volscian territory was soon recovered, while the guard of the city was neglected on a holiday. The year was remarkable for a cold and snowy winter, so that the roads were blocked and the Tiber unnavigable. The price of corn underwent no change in consequence of the abundance previously collected.⁴ And because Publius Licinius administered his office in the same way as he had gained it, without any commotion, and to the greater joy of the commons than indignation of the patricians, a strong desire⁵ of electing plebeians at the next election of military tribunes seized them. Only one out of the patrician candidates, M. Veturius, obtained a seat: almost all the centuries appointed plebeians as the other military tribunes with consular authority, viz. M. Pomponius, Gnaeus Duillius, Volero Publilius, Gnaeus Genucius, L. Atilius. The

proud nobility expressed it' (but *cf.* p. 34, n. 1).—Momms. Bk. ii. ch. 1.

¹ *Extractum*: i.e. from private life.

² *Fratris*: i.e. his half-brother: for as Licinius and Cornelius were plebeian and patrician respectively, their fathers must have been so too.

³ *Triplex*: thrice as much as the infantry.

⁴ *Es ante convecta*: iv. 22; *cf.* xxvi. 20, 'ex ante praeparato.'

⁵ *Dulcedo invasit*: 'dulcedo est cupiditas ab rei dulcedine profiscens: 'invadere, used absolutely: xxviii. 20, 'terrorque inde ac desperatio invaserat.' Sall. *Cat.* 2, 'lubido atque superbia invasere.' —Drakenb.

gloomy winter, whether from the unhealthiness of the air owing to the sudden change to the opposite extreme or from some¹ other cause, was succeeded by² an unwholesome³ summer, destructive to all animals: and when neither the cause nor any termination was found of this incurable pestilence,⁴ the Sibylline books⁵ were consulted according to a decree of the Senate. The two commissioners for the performance of religious matters, causing a lectisternium⁶ to be made then for the first time in the city of Rome, for eight days propitiated Apollo and Latona, Diana and Hercules, Mercury and Neptune, with three couches laid out with as great splendour as could be provided at the time. The rite was also celebrated by private citizens. The doors standing open throughout the whole city and the use of all things lying exposed⁷ for everyone to share in, they say that new comers, known and unknown without distinction,⁸ were invited to partake of hospitality, and that conversations were held kindly and courteously even between enemies: they refrained from disputes and law-suits, and during those days the chains were even taken off from prisoners: a religious scruple was afterwards felt⁹ in imprisoning those to whom the

¹ *Qua*: p. 17, n. 2.

² *Excepit*: iv. 52, 'annum . . . excepit tribunus pl. L. Icilius:' *ib.* 'pestilentem annum inopia frugum . . . excepit.' So, 'Herculis vitam immortalitas excepit,' Cic.

³ *Gravis*: cf. iii. 6, 'grave tempus:' *ib.* 8, 'graviore tempore anni:' xxv. 26, 'locis natura gravibus:' 'ex gravitate loci:' Hor. *S. I.* vi. 19, 'Auctumnus gravis.'

⁴ *Pernicie*: the old form of the dat.: we find *fide, re, die, &c.*, in Plautus: cf. p. 28, n. 3.

⁵ *Libri Sibyllini*, called in the next chapter *libri fatales*, were three books of prophecies and religious formulae for expiations, sold by the Sibyl of Cumae to Tarquinius Superbus. They were written in Greek and deposited in a vault in the Capitol, under the care of two patrician commissioners, the *duumviri sacris faciundis*, to be consulted to avert any strange prodigies that occurred.

⁶ A *lectisternium* was a feast in honour of the gods, whose images were placed on couches at the tables (*pulvinar decorum*: Hor. *C. I.* xxxvii. 3).

⁷ *In propatulo* [*aedium*] is a common phrase in Livy: see xxiv. 16, xxv. 12, xxvi. 13.

⁸ *Passim*: Hor. *Epp.* II. i. 117, 'scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.'

⁹ *Religioni deinde fuisse*: cf. ii. 5, 'fructum religiosum erat con-

gods had brought this aid. In the meantime the alarm at Veii was multiplied by three wars being collected into one. For as the Capenatians and Faliscans had suddenly come to the rescue, the Romans fought with a divided battle against three armies in the same way as before¹ all round their works. Above everything the remembrance of the condemnation of Sergius and Verginius was of use to them. Accordingly forces were soon led round from the larger camp, where some backwardness had been shown² on the former occasion, and attacked the Capenatians in rear as they faced towards the Roman rampart: the commencement of a fight in this direction struck terror into the Faliscans also, and while they were wavering a sally opportunely made from the camp routed them. Then the victors following up the fugitives made a great slaughter, and, not very long after, those who had been ravaging the territory of Capena, thrown in their way as it were by fortune,³ cut off the survivors of the battle⁴ as they were now straggling over the country. Many of the Veientians, too, as they fled back to the city were slain before the gates, while through fear that the Romans should rush in along with them they shut the gates against them and excluded the hindmost of their own men.

14.

These were the events of that year; and now the election of military tribunes was drawing nigh, about which the patricians had almost more anxiety than about the war, seeing the sovereign power not only shared with the commons but almost altogether lost. So, preparing the most distinguished men to stand as candidates,⁵ by arrangement beforehand, whom they

sumere: 'ib. 62, 'castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit:' v. 31, 'quae res postea religioni fuit:' ib. 40, 'religiosum ratus sacerdotes . . . pedibus ire.' Cf. the double use of *sacer*. For the dative, cf. p. 22, n. 4.

¹ *Antea*: ch. 8.

² *Cessatum*: to be laggard: often used of slaves: Hor. *S.* II. vii. 100: *Epp.* II. ii. 14.

³ *Veluti* with *forte* is pleonastic: cf. 'forte quadam divinitus,' i. 4.

⁴ *Reliquias pugnae*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 598, 'reliquias Danaum.'

⁵ *Ad petendum*: 'petere' is the usual word for standing as a candidate, who is sometimes called 'petitor': Hor. *C.* III. i. 11.

thought the people would be ashamed to pass by, they themselves, nevertheless, just as if they were all candidates, trying everything [they could think of], endeavoured to stir¹ not only men but even gods on their behalf, raising religious scruples² about the elections held in the last two years. In the former of the two years, they pointed out, a winter had set in intolerably severe and like to a divine portent: in the next they had not portents, but at last the events; pestilence had fallen on both country and city, undoubtedly through the anger of the gods, whom, it was discovered in the Books of Fate,³ it was necessary to appease for the purpose of warding off the plague: it seemed to the gods a thing unworthy that the honours of the state should be vulgarised and distinctions of race⁴ confounded in an election which was held after the auspices had been duly taken.⁵ Besides⁶ the dignity of the candidates, men were overawed also by religion, and elected as military tribunes with consular power L. Valerius Potitus for the fifth time, M. Valerius Maximus, M. Furius Camillus for the second time, L. Furius Medullinus for the third time, Q. Servilius Fidenas for the second time, Q. Sulpicius Camerinus for the second time: all patricians, the greater part being all the most distinguished men. In their tribunate nothing very memorable was done at Veii: all their force was employed in ravaging the country. The two chief in command, Potitus from Falerii and Camillus from Capena, carried off great booty, leaving nothing unharmed which could be damaged by fire or sword.

¹ *Excipiebant*: some read '*excipiebant*' ('ad suas partes trahebant').

² *In religionem vertentes*: p. 43, n. 9.

³ *Fatalibus*, of or belonging to Fate: cf. '*furiale*,' Verg. *Aen.* vii. 375; Hor. *C.* III. xi. 17.

⁴ *Discrimina gentium confundi*: cf. iv. 1, '*confundi iura gentium*' (by intermarriage). A *gens* was a clan (e.g. the *gens Julia*) comprising several families (as, the family of the Caesars).

⁵ *Auspicato*: abl. abs. of the part. impersonal: cf. '*edicto*' (ch. 19), '*litato*' (ch. 38), '*inaugurato*' (ch. 52), &c.

⁶ *Præterquam* is often used by Livy without a verb: iv. 17, '*præterquam finitimis populis*:' xxii. 53, '*præterquam atrox*:' xxx. 6, '*præterquam hostili odio*.'

15.

Many prodigies were reported in the mean time, most of which were little credited and despised, because the witnesses¹ of each were only single, and also because, as the Etruscans were their enemies,² they had no soothsayers by whom to attend to them. But to one in particular the solicitude of all was directed, viz. that the lake in the Alban grove swelled to an unusual height without any rains or any other cause which could account for the matter without a miracle. Ambassadors³ were sent to the Delphic oracle⁴ to enquire what the gods portended by this prodigy. But an interpreter was thrown in their way by fate⁵ nearer home in a certain old Veientian, who, amongst the Roman and Etruscan soldiers, jesting with one another on their posts and guards, declared⁶ after the manner of one delivering a prophecy that the Romans would never get possession of Veii before the water had been drawn off from the Alban lake. This at first was disregarded as having been thrown out at random; but afterwards began to be discussed in conversation, until a soldier on the Roman outposts enquired of the nearest of the townsmen (for conversational intercourse⁷ used now to take place between the armies owing to the length of the war) who he was who spoke⁸ in that obscure way about the Alban lake? When he heard that he was a soothsayer, being a man of a heart not uninfluenced by religion, pretending that he wished to consult him about the expiation of a private portent of his own, if he could help him,⁹ he enticed the seer out to a con-

¹ *Auctores*: 'informants': iv. 13, 'ne cuius incerti vanique auctor esset': *ib.* 'quae consulem . . . auctorem desideraret.'

² *Hostibus Etruscis*: p. 16. n. 5.

³ *Oratores*: vi. 1; Verg. *Aen.* vii. 153.

⁴ *Delphicum oraculum*: the famous oracle of Apollo, consulted by all Greece, and even by barbarians, as Croesus, king of Lydia (Hdt. i.). Cf. i. 56, 'maxime inclitum in terris oraculum.'

⁵ *Fatis* may be either the dat. or the abl. case.

⁶ *Canere* is said of all prophetic utterances, whether given in rhythm or not: so *carmen*, of any regular formula: i. 23, 32, v. 41.

⁷ The *κοινωνία πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίου*s mentioned by Plut. (*Cam.* 4).

⁸ *Iaceret*, scil. *verba*: cf. *iacutum*, above. *Per ambages*: i. 56, 'per amb. effigiem ingenii sui.' Verg. *Aen.* vi. 99.

⁹ *Si operae illi esset*: 'non operae mihi est' significat 'non tale

ference. And when both, being unarmed, had proceeded a considerable distance from their companions without any fear, the Roman youth, being the stronger of the two, caught up the feeble old man in the sight of all, and in spite of the useless uproar of the Etruscans he carried him off to his own friends. When he was brought before the general and then sent on to the Senate at Rome, to those who enquired what it was that he had asserted about the Alban lake, he replied that 'assuredly the gods had been angry with the people of Veii on that day when they had put it¹ into his heart to betray the destined² ruin of his country. He could not, therefore, recall,³ so that it might be unuttered, that which he had then prophesied, inspired with the divine spirit; and perhaps guilt was incurred by keeping silent what the immortal gods wish to be spread abroad, no less than by uttering what ought to be concealed. Thus, then, it was handed down to them by the Books of Fate and the learning⁴ of Etruria, that when the Alban water had risen high, then, if the Romans discharged it properly, victory was given them over the Veientians; before that took place, the gods would never desert the walls of Veii.' He then related what was the proper way of draining⁵ it; but the fathers, considering him too light an authority⁶ and not sufficiently trustworthy about so important a matter, decreed that the deputies⁷ and the responses⁸ of the Pythian oracle should be waited for.

est in quo operam meam occupari velim,' aut quoniam non vacat aut quia nihil attinet aut quia graviora praevertenda sunt aut quacunque alia de causa. Cf. p. 22, n. 4. ¹ *Obieciissent*: p. 17, n. 1.

² *Fatale*: 'decreed by fate': cf. *fatalis dux*, ch. 19. Hor. *Epp.* II. i. 11, 'fatali portenta labore subegit' ('*fatis Iunonis iniquae*,' Verg. *Aen.* viii. 291).

³ *Revocare*: for 'nescit vox missa reverti.'

⁴ *Disciplina*: the 'school of the prophets.'

⁵ *Solennis derivatio*: according to Plutarch (*Camill.* 4) it was necessary to prevent the water from flowing into the sea. See also v. 16. ⁶ *Auctorem*: cf. n. 1, last page.

⁷ *Legatos*, i.e. the *oratores* mentioned above, whom Plutarch calls *θεσποί*: according to him they were Licinius Cossus, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus, *ἑνδρες ἐνδοχοὶ καὶ μεγάλαι*.

⁸ *Sortes* were originally tablets on which the answer of the

16.

Before the envoys returned from Delphi or any expiation of the Alban prodigy was discovered, the new military tribunes with consular power, L. Julius Iulus, L. Furius Medullinus for a fourth time, L. Sergius Fidenas, Aulus Postumius Regillensis, P. Cornelius Maluginensis, and Aulus Manlius entered on office. This year fresh enemies arose in the people of Tarquinii. Because they saw the Romans occupied with many wars at once—with the Volsci at Anxur,¹ where the garrison was besieged, with the Aequi at Lavici, who were attacking the Roman colony² there; besides this, with a Veientian, Faliscan and Capenatian war also—[knowing too] that things were no quieter within the walls, owing to the struggles between the patricians and the commons, they thought that among all these disturbances there was an opportunity for doing Rome an injury, and sent some light-armed cohorts³ into the Roman territory to plunder,⁴ believing that the Romans would either allow that injury to remain unavenged, that they might not burden themselves with a new war, or that they would pursue them with a small army and that⁵ not well equipped. The Romans felt greater indignation than alarm at the devastations of the Tarquinians; on this account the matter was neither taken up with great energy nor delayed for any length of time. Aulus Postumius and Lucius Julius having raised a force, not by a regular⁶ levy (for they were oracle was written (Hor. *C. II. iii. 26*, 'versatur urna serius ocus Sors exitura'), but came to be used of all oracular responses, even when given by word of mouth.

¹ *Anxur* (p. 35, n. 3) was from its position much exposed to attack: it lay on the opposite side of the Volscian territory to Rome, and communication must have been kept up chiefly by sea.

² *Coloniæ*: iv. 47. Mommsen (i. p. 383, n.) doubts whether there really was a colony at this time at Lavici.

³ *Cohortes* were properly the ten battalions into which the legion (which at this period consisted of about 4,000 men) was divided: but here the word means bodies of men in general. *Expeditas*: without baggage (*impedimenta*).

⁴ *Praedatum*, the supine: cf. 'missi sciscitatum,' ch. 15.

⁵ *Et* may be either the pronoun or the adv. (= therefore), as just below.

⁶ *Iusto*: p. 33, n. 5. *Impediebantur*: cf. Introduction, § II, on the power of the tribunes of the commons.

hindered by the tribunes of the commons), but consisting chiefly of volunteers whom they had aroused by their exhortations, and making an expedition through the territory of Caere by cross roads, surprised the Tarquinians as they were returning from their ravages loaded with spoil. They slay many men, and strip all of their baggage, and having recovered the spoils of their own land they return to Rome. Two days were given the owners for recognizing their property; ¹ on the third all that was not claimed (for most of it belonged to the enemy) was sold by auction and the proceeds of it ² divided among the soldiers. The other wars, and especially the Veientian, were of uncertain issue. And now the Romans, despairing of human aid, began to look to fate and the gods, when the envoys came from Delphi, bringing with them a response of the oracle that agreed with the answer of the captive seer: 'Take heed,³ O Roman, that thou suffer not the Alban water to be confined in the lake, take heed that thou suffer it not to flow into the sea in its own stream; thou shalt let it out and disperse it⁴ through the fields, and when it is scattered in many channels thou shalt consume it. Then do thou boldly mount the enemy's walls, remembering that by these fates which are now revealed victory is given thee over⁵ that city which thou art besieging for so many years. The war ended, do thou the victor bear⁶ to my temples an ample gift, and restoring in wonted form the sacred rites of thy fathers, the care whereof hath been neglected, do thou perform them.'⁷

¹ *Ad recognoscendas res* : cf. iii. 10 *init.*, xxiv. 16, &c.

² *Redactum* : of money paid into a common fund, generally the public treasury ('redigere in publicum,' ii. 42, 2 : 'ad quaestorem,' v. 19).

³ *Cave . . . sinas* : without *no* : cf. 'cave faxis' (*sub. ut*).

⁴ *Irigabis* is here = 'irrigabis' : cf. Verg. *G.* iv. 115, 'amicos irriget imbres.' *Aen.* i. 691, 'placidam per membra quietem irrigat.'

⁵ *Ex ea . . . victoriam datam* : cf. 'victoriam de Veientibus dari,' last ch. and iii. 63.

⁶ *Portato . . . facito* : this form of the imperative is chiefly found in formal and solemn injunctions, as *e.g.* the Twelve Tables.

17.

The captive seer thenceforth began to be held in high esteem,¹ and the military tribunes Cornelius and Postumius began to employ him for the expiation of the Alban prodigy, and the due propitiation of the gods. It was at length discovered wherein the gods blamed the neglect of ceremonies and the omission of customary rites; they found that it was undoubtedly nothing else than that the magistrates, having been appointed under some defect in the proceedings,² had not duly proclaimed the Latin festival³ and the solemnities on the Alban Mount; that the only way of expiating this was that the military tribunes should resign their office, that the auspices should be taken afresh,⁴ and an interregnum entered upon. This was done according to a decree of the Senate. There were three interreges in succession, Lucius Valerius, Quintus Servilius Fidenas, Marcus Furius Camillus. In the meantime disturbances never ceased to arise, the tribunes of the commons forbidding the elections until an agreement had first been made that the greater part of the military tribunes should be elected from the commons. While this is going on, councils of Etruria were held at the temple of Voltumna, and to the demand of the Capenatians and Faliscans that all the states of Etruria, with common consent and plans, should raise the siege of Veii, the answer given was, that formerly they had refused this to the Veientians because they ought not to seek aid from a quarter where⁵ they had not sought advice on a matter of such weight; *now* their own fortune refused for them. A race never be-

¹ *Ingens*: iv. 6, 'cum Canuleius victoria de patribus... ingens esset.'

² 'Vitis facta dicuntur quae auguriis non rite captis facta sunt.'

³ The *foriae Latinae* were a religious festival celebrated annually on the Alban Mount by the members of the Roman and Latin League, 'cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint' (i. 52): it lasted three days, and was a moveable feast, being fixed by the consul, and hence called 'indictae' (Hor. *Epp.* l. vii. 76), or 'conceptivae,' as opposed to 'stativae.'

⁴ *De integro rep.*: pleonastic.

⁵ *Unde*: of persons: Hor. *C.* l. xii. 17, 'unde nil maius generatur ipso'; II. xii. 7; *Sat.* II. iii. 33, vi. 21; Cic. *De Sen.* 4, 'fore unde discerem neminem.'

fore seen had invaded that¹ part of Etruria; they had new neighbours, the Gauls, with whom there was neither peace that could be trusted nor certain war. This much, however, was granted to their blood and name, and the urgent peril of their kinsmen, that if any² of their young men went to the war voluntarily they would not hinder them. There was a rumour at Rome that this³ was a great number of enemies which had arrived; and in consequence the internal dissensions began, as is usually the case, to abate through the public alarm.

Without opposition from the patricians the prerogative⁴ tribe elected P. Licinius Calvus military tribune though not a candidate: a man of tried moderation in his former magistracy, but now of extreme⁵ age: and it was clear that all the members of the college of that same year, L. Titinius, Q. Manlius, P. Maenius, Gnaeus Genucius, L. Atilius, would be re-elected⁶ in succession. Before they were proclaimed to the tribes, who were summoned in regular course,⁷ P. Licinius Calvus, by permission of the interrex, spoke as follows: 'I see that from the remembrance of our magistracy, citizens of Rome, you are seeking an omen of concord, a thing especially useful at this time, for the ensuing year at these elections. But in my colleagues you re-elect the same men, or even improved by experience: in me you see not the same man as I

18.

¹ *Eam partem*: i.e. the north. The dangerous proximity of the Gauls was no doubt the reason why Veii was not assisted by all Etruria in its death-struggle with Rome.

² *Qui*: p. 17, n. 2.

³ *Eum*: consisting of these volunteers.

⁴ *Praerogativa (tribus)*: see Introduction: perhaps the word understood may be *centuria*: 'auctoritatem praerogativae omnes centuriae secutae sunt,' xxvi. 22: cf. xxiv. 7.

⁵ *Exactae*: 'fere ad finem adductae.'

⁶ *Refici* = 'refecturum iri.'—Madv. *Eiusdem anni*: i.e. the year of Licinius' consulate: ch. 12.

⁷ *Iure vocatis tribubus*: 'Iure vocatae reliquae dicebantur tribus vel centuriae praeter praerogativam. Suffragio & praerogativa lato, renunciabatur reliquis tribubus (*iure vocatis*) quisnam per illud creatus sit, quem tunc plerumque etiam hae suis suffragiis creabant, praerogativam sequentes.'—Stroth.

was, but only the name and shadow¹ of Licinius left. My bodily strength is weakened, my senses of sight and hearing are dull, my memory falters, the vigour of my mind is blunted. Lo, here,' said he, laying his hand on his son, 'you² have a youth the exact copy and image of him whom you once made military tribune, the first from among the commons. Him do I give and dedicate³ to the commonwealth as a substitute for myself, trained by my own discipline, and I beg you, citizens of Rome, to entrust to him, seeking your votes and with my prayers for him also added,⁴ the honour spontaneously offered to me.' The favour was granted to the father's request, and his son Publius Licinius was declared military tribune with consular power together with those whom we have mentioned above. Titinius and Genucius, military tribunes, set out against the Faliscans and Capenatians, and while they conduct the war with more courage than prudence, they fall into⁵ an ambush. Genucius, atoning for his rashness with an honourable death, fell among the foremost⁶ in front of the standards: Titinius, rallying the troops out of the rout on some rising ground, restored their order of battle, but did not, however engage the enemy on even ground. More disgrace than loss was sustained, and it almost resulted in a great disaster: so much terror was excited thereby, not only at Rome, where an exaggerated rumour had arrived, but also in the camp at Veii. There the soldiers were with difficulty restrained from flight, as a report had spread through the camp that the generals and army had been slain, and the victorious Capenatians and Faliscans and all the youth of Etruria were not far

¹ *Umbra*: cf. the well-known phrase of Lucan (i. 135), '*Stat magni nominis umbra*.' *Nomen*: Liv. iii. 65, '*nomina tantum se biennio habuisse*.'

² *Vobis*: the ethic dative: cf. 'en tibi,' ii. 12.

³ *Do dicoque*: the usual formula of dedication.

⁴ *Meis precibus* adj.: abl. abs. *Potenti* ('standing as a candidate,' p. 44, n. 5) is opposed to *ultra*.

⁵ *Praecipitavere*: the neuter verb = 'pr. se.'

⁶ *Inter primores*: ἐν προμάχοις.

off. At Rome they believed even more disturbing news than this: that the camp at Veii was attacked already, that a part of the enemy were already marching on the city with troops eager for battle.¹ They crowded to the walls, and supplications of the matrons whom the general panic had brought from home were offered up in the temples, and the gods were besought with prayers to ward off destruction from the houses and temples of the city and the walls of Rome, and to avert the terror [and guide it] to Veii, if the sacred rites had been duly renewed, and if the prodigies had been expiated.

The games and the Latin festival had now been performed afresh, the water from the Alban lake had now been discharged over the fields, and fate was drawing near² Veii. Accordingly a general destined³ for the destruction of that city and the preservation of his country, Marcus Furius Camillus, was named dictator, and appointed Publius Cornelius Scipio his master of the knights. The change of commander instantly changed⁴ everything: men's hopes were different, their courage different: even the fortune of the city seemed different. First of all he punished according to military discipline those who had fled from Veii in the⁵ panic, and took care that the enemy should not be the most dreaded object to the soldier. Then proclaiming a levy for a certain day, he himself in the meantime hastens to Veii⁶ to encourage the spirit of the troops: thence he returns to Rome, to enroll the new army, not a man declining service. Young men from foreign states also, Latins and

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¹ *Infesto*: p. 32, n. 5.

² *Appetebant*: cf. ch. 44, 'ubi nox appetit;' x. 20, 9, 'iam lux appetebat.' Plaut. *Aulul.* I. i. 36, 'propinqua partitudo cui appetit.' Quint. Curt. x. 1, 'fatum, cuius inevitabilis sors est, appetebat.'

³ *Fatalis*: p. 47, n. 2.

⁴ *Mutaverat*: the pluperfect denotes the instant effect of Camillus' appointment: as soon as it was made, the change in men's feelings was a *fait accompli*.

⁵ *Illo*: that just mentioned.

⁶ *Intercurrit*: the preposition repeats the idea of *interim*.

Hernicans, came promising their services for the war : after the dictator had thanked them in the Senate, having now finished his preparations for the war, in accordance with a decree of the Senate he vowed to celebrate the Great Games¹ when Veii was taken, and to rebuild and dedicate the temple of Mother Matuta² which had formerly been dedicated by King Servius Tullius. Setting out from the city with his army amid the confident expectation rather than the mere hopes of men, he first joins battle with the Faliscans and Capenatians in the territory of Nepet.³ Everything there, being managed with the highest prudence and skill, was followed, as is usually the case, by success. Not only did he rout the enemy in battle, but stripped them also of their camp, and obtained vast spoil, the chief part of which was paid over to the quaestor,⁴ not very much given to the soldiers. Thence the army was led to Veii, and forts were built closer to one other; and proclamation being made⁵ that no one should fight without orders, the soldiers were diverted from the skirmishes, many of which used to take place at random between the wall and the rampart, to the work. Of all the works by far the greatest and most laborious was a mine begun to be carried to the enemy's citadel. In order that this work might not be interrupted and that the continual labour underground might not exhaust the same men,⁶ he divided the number of pioneers⁷ into six parts; six hours each

¹ The *ludi magni* ('Romani magnique varie appellati,' i. 35) were instituted by Tarquinius Priscus.

² *Matutae Matris*: Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 12, 'Ino, Cadmi filia, ... Leucothea nominata a Graecis, Matuta habetur a nostris.' Ov. *Fast.* vi. 545, 'Leucothoe Graiis, Matuta vocabere nostris.' Plut. *Camill.* 5 (describing the worship).

³ *Nepet* or *Nepete* lay about five miles S. W. of Falerii.

⁴ *Ad quaestorem redacta*: p. 49, n. 2: the quaestors were the public paymasters. See Introduction.

⁵ *Edicto*: p. 45, n. 5. *Iniusu*, like several other words of the same form, is only found in the ablative.

⁶ *Eosdem*: i.e. without their being regularly relieved: cf. vi. 3, 'quae semper eosdem urgebant;' vi. 4, 'eosdem integro semper certamini paucitas fessos obiceret.'

⁷ *Munitores*: vii. 23.

were allotted for the work in rotation : ¹ night and day there was no relaxation until they made their way to the citadel.

When the dictator saw that victory was now in his hands, that a most wealthy city was on the point of capture, and that there would be such a quantity of spoil as had not been won in all previous wars put together, in order to avoid incurring on that score either the resentment of the soldiers from parsimony ² in the division of the booty or displeasure at the hands of the patricians from a prodigal lavishness, he sent a letter to the Senate [saying] that by the favour of the immortal gods, by his own measures and by the patience of the troops, Veii would soon be in the power of the Roman people; what did they think ³ ought to be done about the spoil? Two opinions divided the Senate. One was that of the elder Publius Licinius, who, they say, on being asked his opinion by his son before the other senators, ⁴ declared that he voted for a public proclamation to be made to the people that everyone who wished to share in the spoil should go to the camp at Veii. The other proposition was that of Appius Claudius, who, condemning a free distribution as unheard of, extravagant, unjust, and ill-considered, if they should once think it wrong for money taken from the enemy to be paid into the treasury, exhausted as it was by wars, proposed ⁵ that the soldiers' pay should be drawn from this money, so that the commons might have the less tax to pay; for [he argued] that the families of all would enjoy a common share of such a bounty and in fair proportion; the hands of the city

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¹ *In orbem* : i. 17, 'per omnes in orbem ibat;' iii. 10 and 36, vi. 4, 'in orbem succederet.'

² *Maliguitate* : cf. ii. 42, and *maligne*, iii. 63.

³ *Censuerent* : p. 17, n. 10, and p. 33, n. 4.

⁴ *Primum* : probably Licinius, from his age (ch. 18) and rank, was *princeps senatus* or senior member, and thus entitled to give his vote first. The question would be put to him by his son as military tribune. This passage contradicts Mommsen's theory of the privileges of the *conscripti*, p. 41, n. 5.

⁵ *Auctor* : p. 19, n. 6.

idlers,¹ ever greedy for plunder, would not snatch away the prize of brave warriors: since it generally turns out that a man is less active as a plunderer in proportion² as he is wont to seek the chief share of the toil and the danger. Licinius on the other hand maintained that this money would always be a cause of suspicion and strife, and would furnish grounds for impeachments before the people,³ and hence for civil disturbances and new laws. 'It was more advisable, therefore' [said he], 'that the minds of the commons should be reconciled by that bounty, that assistance should be given them, exhausted and drained as they were by a tax of so many years, and that they should enjoy⁴ the fruits of spoil from that war in which they had almost grown old.⁵ What each took from the enemy with his own hand and brought home with him would be pleasanter and more agreeable than if he were to receive many times as much at the will of another. The dictator himself shrank from the unpopularity and recriminations that would arise from the matter, and therefore had transferred it to the Senate: the Senate, too, ought to allow the business which had thus been thrown on them to pass on to the commons, and permit every man to have what the fortune of war gave him.' This opinion appeared the safer as it would make the Senate popular. A proclamation was accordingly issued that those who liked⁶ should proceed to the dictator's camp for the plunder of Veii.

21.

The vast multitude which set out filled the camp. Then the dictator, after taking the auspices, came forth, and ordering the soldiers to take arms, he said: 'Under thy guidance, O Pythian Apollo, and inspired with thy

¹ *Otiatorum urbanorum*: Livy is probably transferring to this early period the characteristics of his own times, when the Roman mob cared for nothing but 'panem et Circenses.'

² *Segnior sit praedator, ut quisque* = 'prout quisque . . . , ita segnior,' &c.

³ *Criminum ad plebem*: p. 39, n. 2.

⁴ *Succurri—sentire*: p. 17, n. 1.

⁵ *Consenuerint*: ch. 11, 'ut consenescat ad Veios iuventus.

⁶ *Videretur*: *Idē*. Cf. 'si eis videretur,' the formula of senatorial decrees: Cic. *Phil.* v. 19, 53: written S.E.V.

divinity, I proceed to destroy the city of Veii, and I vow to thee the tenth part¹ of the spoil from it. Thee also, Queen Juno, who now dwellest in Veii, I beseech to follow us when victors into our city, soon to be thine, where a temple worthy of thy majesty shall receive thee.' Having uttered these prayers, he attacks the city from every quarter (there being a more than sufficient number of men), in order that the danger threatening them from the mine might be the less noticed. The Veientians, ignorant that they were already betrayed by their own prophets and by foreign² oracles, that the gods had already been invited to a share³ in their plunder, while others, called out⁴ by vows from their city, were looking towards the temples of the enemy and new abodes, ignorant that the day they were spending was their last, and fearing nothing less than that their walls were undermined, and their citadel already full of the enemy, run to the wall in arms, every man to his post,⁵ wondering what was the reason why, when no one had stirred from the Roman outposts for so many days, they should then, as if struck with sudden frenzy,⁶ rush blindly towards the walls. A fable⁷ is introduced here,

¹ *Decimam partem*: thus the Greeks dedicated to Apollo a tenth of the Persian spoil after the battle of Plataea: Hdt. ix. 81.

² *Externis*: i.e. of Delphi. Livy uses the plural in rhetorical exaggeration.

³ *In partem vocatos*: Verg. *Aen.* iii. 222, 'divos ipsumque vocamus in praedam partemque Iovem.' *Partem* means 'share,' as in iv. 3, 'lucis vobis huius partem, si liceat, adimant;' vi. 40, 'in partem venire;' xxxi. 1 (*init.*), 'velut ipse in parte laboris periculique fuerim.' It is commonly used in wills: Hor. *S. II.* v. 100.

⁴ *Evocatos*: it must be remembered the ancient deities were exclusively local, every town and wood and stream having its own. Cf. ch. 52, 'nullus locus in ea non religionum deorumque est plenus.'

⁵ *Discurrunt*: *dis* in composition implies dispersion: cf. 'ad praedam miles discurrit' (*infra*): 'ad arma discurritur' (ch. 36): 'discumbitur' ('take their seats in different parts of the hall'), Verg. *Aen.* i. 700.

⁶ *Icti furore*: cf. 'metu icta,' i. 16; 'furoris ictu,' Catull. lxiii. 79.

⁷ *Fabula*: the whole account of the siege of Veii can claim little credence: in many details, as the length (ten years) and the secret introduction of a body of armed men into the citadel, it is evidently modelled on the siege of Troy. It is almost impossible

how that while the king of the Veientians was offering sacrifice, the voice of the soothsayer, declaring that victory was given to him who should cut up¹ the entrails of that victim, was heard in the mine and encouraged the Roman soldiers to burst open the mine, carry off the entrails, and bring them to the dictator. But in matters so ancient I should be satisfied if what bears a resemblance to truth be admitted as true. Such stories as this, more suited to display on the stage, which delights in marvels, than to trustworthy history, it is not worth while either to affirm or refute. At the time we are speaking of, the mine, full of picked troops, suddenly discharged armed men in the temple of Juno, which is in the Veientian citadel. Part of them attack² the enemy on the walls in rear; part tear open the bars of the gates; part, as stones and tiles were hurled from the roofs by women and slaves,³ set fire to the houses. Everywhere is filled with the noise of various voices of the menacing and the terror-stricken, mingled with the wailing of women and children. In a moment those still in arms are driven from the walls in every direction, and the gates are thrown open, some rushing in in bodies, others scaling the deserted walls, and the city is filled with the foe: the fighting goes on in every quarter. Then, after much slaughter had already taken place, the fight grows less ardent,⁴ and the dictator orders the heralds to proclaim that the unarmed should be spared. This was the end of the bloodshed. Laying down their arms they then began to surrender,⁵ and, by permission of the dictator, the

that at this period (see p. 27, n. 5) the Romans should have possessed the means or engineering skill to make a tunnel such as Livy describes, even supposing it possible at all to calculate the direction so exactly as to reach the temple of the citadel.

¹ *Proseguisset*: *prosecare* is the regular word for cutting up victims: the entrails were cut out and offered *first* (*pro*).

² *Invadunt*: a plural verb or adj. is often used with *pars*.

³ *Servitiis* = *servis*: the abstract for the concrete: cf. '*remigium, servitus*' (Hor. *C. II.* viii. 18), '*custodia*' (Verg. *Aen.* vi. 74), '*tutela, ministerium*,' Gr. *ἐλευθερία*, &c.

⁴ *Senescit*: i. 22, '*senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus*;' xxix. 22, '*iam senescente invidia mollebantur irae*.'

⁵ *Dedit* is used almost in a middle sense, as = '*dedere se*.'

soldiers disperse in search of plunder. And when this was brought before his eyes, considerably greater and consisting of articles of greater value than he had hoped or expected, he is said to have prayed, lifting his hands to Heaven, that if his own good fortune and that of the Roman people appeared too great to any god or man, it might be permitted them to appease that jealousy¹ with as little private harm to himself and public harm to the Roman people as possible. There is a tradition that as he turned himself² during this prayer he slipped and fell; and to persons judging of the matter afterwards by the event this omen seemed to have referred to the condemnation of Camillus himself, and the subsequent disaster of the city of Rome being captured, which happened a few years after. And that day was spent in the slaughter of the enemy and the plunder of such a wealthy city.

Next day the dictator sold the free inhabitants by auction.³ This was the only money paid into the public treasury, and that not without the resentment of the commons. Even what plunder they brought back with them they attributed as a favour,⁴ neither to the general (who, by seeking for encouragers of his own parsimony, had referred to the Senate a matter that belonged to his own jurisdiction), nor to the Senate, but to the Licinian family, of which the son had laid the matter before the

22

¹ *Invidiam*: Gr. *νέμεσις*, so frequently alluded to by Herodotus, e.g. in the story of Amasis and Polycrates, tyrant of Samos: iii. 40. Acc. to Plutarch, *Camill.* 5, Camillus prayed εἰ . . . τις καὶ ἡμῶν ἀντίστροφος ὀφείλεται τῆς παρούσης νέμεσις εὐπραξίας, εὐχομαι ταύτην ὑπὲρ τε πόλεως καὶ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἑμᾶντὸν ἐλαχίστον κακὸν τελευτῆσαι. Cf. also the prayer of Aemilius Paullus in Velleius Paterc. I. x. 4, 'Deos immortales precatus est, ut, si quis eorum invideret operibus ac fortunæ suæ, in ipsum potius sævirent quam in rempublicam.' And the prayer given in Valerius Maximus, *De Ominibus* I. v. 'ut, si cui deorum nimia felicitas populi Romani videretur, eius invidia suo aliquo incommodo satiaretur.' Hence some read 'suo privato incommodo, quam (i.e. potius quam) minimo publico populi Romani.'

² *Convertentem se*: ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔθως ἐπευξαμένοις καὶ προσκυνήσασιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐξελίττειν. Plut. *Camill.* 5, cf. *Ov. Metam.* vii. 188.

³ *Sub corona vendidit*: an old author quoted by Gellius (vii. 4) says: 'Antiquitus mancipia iure belli capta coronis induta veniebant, et idcirco dicebantur sub corona venire.'

⁴ *Acceptum referebant*: p. 16, n. 6.

Senate, the father had been the proposer of so popular a resolution. When the wealth that belonged to man was now removed from Veii, then they began to move the offerings to the gods and the gods themselves, but more after the manner of worshippers than of plunderers. For young men, chosen out of all the army, with bodies washed pure and white garments, to whom the conveyance of Queen Juno to Rome was assigned, entered the temple reverently, laying their hands upon her at first with religious awe, because by the Etruscan usage no one except¹ a priest of a certain tribe had been wont to touch that image. Afterwards, when some one, whether moved by divine inspiration or by youthful jocularly, said, 'Art thou willing to go to Rome, Juno?' the others cried out together that the goddess had nodded. An addition was subsequently made to the tale, that her voice was also heard saying that she was willing. Certainly we are told that she was moved from her pedestal by machines of slight power, and was light and easy of removal, like one following of herself; and that she was conveyed unharmed to the Aventine, her eternal home, whither the vows of the Roman dictator had invited her, where the same Camillus who had vowed it afterwards dedicated a temple to her. Such was the fall of Veii, the most wealthy city of the Etruscan name,² which even in its final overthrow showed its greatness; for after being besieged for ten³ summers and winters continuously, and after inflicting considerably greater losses than it had sustained, it was captured at last, when fate was now pressing hard upon it, not by open force,⁴ but by siege-works.

23. When word was brought to Rome that Veii was taken, although the prodigies had been expiated, and the answers of the seers and the Pythian responses were

¹ *Nisi* . . . *non* = 'nemo . . . nisi.' *Lautis corporibus*: cf. i. 45, end.

² *Nomen* is often used as = *gens*, esp. in the phrase '*Latium nomen*.'

³ *Decem*: the city had really been continuously blockaded only eight years.

⁴ *Vi*: *κατὰ κράτος*, by storm, by a *coup de main*.

known, and though they had chosen Marcus Furius, the greatest of all generals, as their commander, which was helping forward events as much as could possibly be done by human measures; still, because the war had lasted there for so many years with various success and many disasters had been sustained, the joy was unbounded, as though for an event that was quite unexpected; and before the Senate passed any decree, all the temples were full of Roman matrons¹ offering up thanks² to the gods. The Senate decreed a thanksgiving for a space of four days, a number of days equalled in no former war. The arrival of the dictator also was better attended than that of any general had ever been before, all ranks pouring out to meet him, and his triumph considerably surpassed all the usual style of honouring such a day. He himself was the most conspicuous object,³ riding into the city in a chariot harnessed⁴ with white horses; and this appeared but little becoming not only for a citizen but even for a human being. The people even held it to be a slight on religion,⁵ that the dictator should be put on a level with the horses⁶ of Jove and of the Sun⁷ [as regarded

¹ *Matrum* = 'matronarum:' *poeticæ*.

² *Grates*, rarely found except in nom. or acc.; no sing. 'Grates' or 'gratias (only pl.) agere,' to return thanks: 'gratias habere,' to feel gratitude.

³ *Conspectus*: cf. iii. 50: iv. 13 and 60: xxx. 45, 'conspecta mors eius fuit, quia publico funere est elatus.'

⁴ *Iuncto*, yoked: τέθριππον ὑποζευγμένον λευκόπῳλον, Plut.

⁵ *In religionem trahabant*: p. 43, n. 9. Cf. 'in religionem vertentes,' ch. 14: 'nobis religionem iniiciebat,' xxxii. 21.

⁶ *Equis æquiparatum dictatorem* = 'dictatoris currum æquiparatum esse Jovis curru quoad equos.' 'Poni solet homo qui in aliqua re similis est alteri rei, pro re ipsa in qua similitudo ista cernitur.'—Stroth. Gronovius compares ix. 10, 'Postumius in ore erat: . . . devotioni P. Decii consulis, aliis claris facinoribus æquabant.' Justin. i. 7, 'fuere Lydis multi ante Croesum reges, variis casibus memorabiles, nullus tamen fortunæ Candauius comparandus.' Cf. also Hor. C. II. xiv. 26, 'mero Tinget pavementum superbo Pontificum potiore coenis' (i.e. better than that used at the suppers of the priests). The phrase is not an uncommon one in Latin.

The custom of using white horses to draw the triumphal car was afterwards followed by other generals, though only on great occasions: Plutarch is wrong in saying of it ὁδὸν τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἡγεμόνες πρότερον, οὐδ' ὕστερον (*Camill.* 7). ⁷ *Solis*, i.e. Apollo.

his equipage], and chiefly from this one cause his triumph was splendid rather than pleasing.¹ Then he contracted for² a temple to Queen Juno on the Aventine, and consecrated that of Mother Matuta; and having accomplished these matters, both divine and human, he resigned his dictatorship. The question of the offering to Apollo then began to be discussed; and when Camillus stated that he had vowed him a tenth part of the spoil, and the priests decided that the people ought to be discharged from the sacred obligation,³ a plan was not readily entered on of ordering the people to return the spoil, so that the due portion of it might be set aside for sacred purposes. At length, recourse was had to this, which seemed the mildest way: that whoever wished to free himself and his house from the obligation, after estimating his spoil for himself, should pay the value of the tenth part into the treasury, so that a golden offering worthy of the grandeur of the temple and the divinity of the god might be made out of it, suitably to the dignity of the Roman people. This contribution also estranged the minds of the commons from Camillus. While this was going on ambassadors came from the Volsci and the Aequi to make peace; and peace was obtained by them more in order that the state, wearied by so long a war, might rest, than because those who sought it deserved it.

24.

After the capture of Veii, the following year had six military tribunes with consular power, viz., two Publii Cornelii, Cossus and Scipio; M. Valerius Maximus for the second time, Kaeso Fabius Ambustus for the third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a fifth time, and

¹ *Clarior quam gratior*. The origin of this phrase may be traced thus: it was orig. 'clarus potius quam gratus:' then, 'clarus potius' being taken as together - 'clarior,' it became 'clarior quam gratus:' finally, the second adj. was attracted to the same degree of comparison as the former: 'clarior quam gratior.'

² *Lovere* is to give a contract: Hor. *C. II.* xviii. 18. The correlative word for undertaking a contract is 'conducere' (Hor. *Epp.* I. i. 77) or 'redimere.' (f Liv. xxiii. 48.

³ *Religio* est obligatio erga deos: ii. 32, 'nullam scelere religionem exsolvi;' i. 8, 'exsolvamus religione populum, si qua obligavimus.'—Doering.

Quintus Servilius a third time. The Faliscan war fell by lot to the Corneli, the Capenatian to Valerius and Servilius. No cities were attacked by the latter, either by storm or by siege-works, but the country was laid waste and plunder carried off from the farming stock; not a single fruit¹ tree, and nothing that yielded food, was left in the land. This disaster subdued the people of Capena; peace was granted them on their suing for it; the war with the Faliscans still remained. At Rome in the meanwhile faction was multiplied, and for the purpose of assuaging it they had resolved that a colony should be sent to the Volscian territory, for which 3,000 Roman citizens were to be enrolled, and the three commissioners appointed for the purpose had distributed three acres and seven-twelfths² for each man. This donation began to be despised, because they thought it was offered as a consolation for putting aside their higher hopes. For why [they asked] should the commons be banished among the Volscians, when the beautiful city of Veii and the Veientian territory were in sight, more fertile and extensive than the Roman territory? The city, too, they declared, was superior to the city of Rome, either in situation or in magnificence of public and private buildings and enclosures. Nay, even that plan was brought forward which, especially³ after the capture of Rome by the Gauls, was still oftener discussed, viz. of migrating to Veii. But they intended Veii to be inhabited partly by the commons and partly by the Senate, and [believed] that two cities of one common republic could be occupied by the Roman people. When the nobles strove⁴ against these measures so vehemently as to declare that 'they would

¹ *Felix* = 'fecunda:' 'ramos feliciores,' Hor. *Epod.* ii. 14. *Frugiferum*: p. 40, n. 6.

² *Terna iugera et septuonces*: 'iugerum' (from *iugum*, being as much as a yoke of oxen could plough in a day) was really only five-eighths of an acre: it was a piece of ground 240 ft. by 120 ft. *Ari uncia* was originally an ounce (one-twelfth of the *as* or pound), but came to mean one-twelfth of any unit.

³ *Utique* = 'praesertim' or 'maxime.'

⁴ *Tenderent*: p. 35, n. 1. The apodosis to this is in the next

rather die in the sight of the Roman people than that any of these things should be laid before¹ the people; why, *now* in one city they had so much dissension! what would there be in two cities? [Was it possible] that² anyone should prefer a vanquished to a victorious country, and suffer Veii to have greater prosperity after its capture than it had in the height of its strength? In short, they might be left behind in their country by their fellow-citizens, but no force would ever compel them to leave their country and their fellow-citizens and follow Titus Licinius (for he, being one of the tribunes of the commons, was the proposer of this measure) to Veii as the founder of a city, abandoning the god Romulus, the son of a god,³ the father and author of the city of Rome.'

25.

When this was debated with shameful contentions (for the patricians had drawn over part of the tribunes of the commons to their views), nothing else obliged the commons to refrain from coming to blows,⁴ except that wherever a shouting arose for the sake of commencing a riot, the chief men in the Senate offered themselves first to the crowd, asking that *they* should be attacked and struck and slain. Whilst all abstained from violating their age and dignity and high office, shame checked their rage with regard to any other similar attempts also. Camillus over and over again haranguing in every place [asserted] 'that it was no

chapter, 'nulla res alia,' etc.; 'cum,' owing to the length of the sentence, being repeated at the beginning of the chapter.

¹ *Rogaretur*: be put to the vote. The people were *asked* whether they wished the bill (*rogatio*) to become law.

² *Victamne ut quisquam . . . praeferret*: i.e. 'ferrine potest ut . . .': a formula of indignant amazement. Liv. iv. 2, 'illine ut impune . . . concitent bella?' Hor. S. II. v. 10, 'utne tegam spurco Damae latus! haud ita Troiae Me gessi.' Ter. Andr. I. v. 28, 'eine ego ut advorser?' The infinitive is often used in the same way: Verg. Aen. i. 37, 'Mene desistere victam?' Hor. S. I. ix. 72, 'Huncine solem Tam nigrum surrexe mihi?' Ter. Andr. II. v. 14, 'Nullane in re esse quoiquam homini fidem?' and IV. iii. 1. Cf. Hor. Epod. xvii. 56, 'Inultus ut tu riseris Cottytia.'

³ *Dei*: Martis.

⁴ *Manibus temperare*: cf. 'parcere lamentis,' vi. 3; 'laetitiae temp.' ch. 7.

wonder the state was mad, which, though bound by a vow,¹ showed greater concern for anything rather than for acquitting itself of its obligation. He would say nothing about the contribution of what was more properly an alms² than a tenth, since each bound himself as an individual thereby, but the people were freed. This,³ in truth, his conscience did not suffer him to keep silent, that a tithe was set apart only out of that part of the spoil which consisted of moveable property,⁴ no mention was made of the city and land that had been captured, which were themselves also included in the vow.⁵ When this question, which seemed doubtful⁶ to the Senate, was referred to the priests, Camillus being invited to join them,⁷ the college decided that a tenth part of whatever of it⁷ had belonged to the Veientians before the vow was made, and had come into the hands of the Roman people after the vow, was sacred to Apollo. Thus the city and land came into the estimate. Money was advanced from the treasury and the consular military tribunes were commissioned to buy up gold with it. As there was not enough of this [metal], the matrons, after holding meetings to consult on the subject, by a general resolution promised gold to the military tribunes, and brought all their ornaments to the treasury. This

¹ *Damnata voti*: their prayer being granted, they were bound to perform their vow: cf. vii. 28, 'cuius damnatus voti:' xxvii. 45, 'precabantur ut . . . damnarentur ipsi votorum quae pro iis suscepissent.' *Voti reus* means simply bound by a vow, whether granted or not: Verg. *Aen.* v. 237. Cf. 'voti liberaretur,' ch. 28, *sub init.*

² *Stipis*: *stips* was a small piece of money, especially one offered to the gods.

³ *Illud* = τοῦτο: refers to what follows. *Suam* is emphatic: 'whatever others might feel.'

⁴ *Rerum moventium*, i.e. mobilia, 'quae moveri possunt:' Cornel. Nepos, *Themist.* 2. Gr. ἐπιπλά.

⁵ *Anceps*: p. 16, n. 9.

⁶ *Adhibito*: in consilium: viii. 6, 'adhibitis legatis tribunisque.' Cic. *Phil.* v. 9, 23, 'adhibuissetque consularem.'—Doering. Camillus was probably summoned to give evidence.

⁷ *Eius*: i.e. praedae: but its genuineness seems to me doubtful.

was as grateful to the Senate as anything ever was,¹ and they say that on account of this generosity the honour of using covered coaches² to go to public worship and the games, and open carriages on festivals and ordinary days, was granted to the matrons. On the valuation of the weight of gold received from each separately, so that money might be paid them for it, it was resolved that a golden bowl should be made, which was to be carried to Delphi as an offering to Apollo. As soon as³ they absolved their minds of the religious debt, the tribunes of the commons begin their factions afresh, the populace are hounded on against all the leading men, above all against Camillus; he, they said, by confiscating⁴ and consecrating the plunder of Veii, had reduced it to nothing. They rail fiercely at [the nobles] when they are absent, but feel great respect for them in their presence, when they voluntarily offer themselves to their rage. As soon as they saw that the question was put off from that year, they re-elect as tribunes of the commons for the next year⁵ the same proposers of the law: the patricians also strove to do the same for the opponents of the law; thus the same men for the most part were re-elected tribunes of the commons.

26. At the election of military tribunes the patricians prevailed by the utmost efforts, so that Marcus Furius Camillus was elected. They pretended that it was on account of the wars that he was brought forward, to be the general; but he was really sought for as an opponent to the free distribution proposed by the tribunes. Together with Camillus, Lucius Furius Medullinus for the sixth time, Gaius Aemilius, Lucius Valerius Publicola, Spurius Postumius, Publius Cornelius a second

¹ *Ut quas maxime: et ris καὶ ἄλλος: cf. vii. 33, 'praelium, ut quod maxime unquam, pari spe . . . commissum est.'*

² The *pilentum* was a four-wheeled covered carriage, with cushions, chiefly used by women; Verg. *Aen.* viii. 665, 'castae ducebant sacra per urbem Pilentis matres in mollibus. The *carpentum* was a sort of gig.

³ *Simul* = 'simul ac:': iv. 18, 'quod simul conspexit.

⁴ *Publicare* = *δημεύειν* or *δημοσιεύειν*, to make public property.

⁵ *In annum* [insequentem]: iv. 55, xxvii. 6, xlii. 18, 'bellum in annum dilatum esset.' Hor. *Epod.* I. ii. 39, xi. 23.

time, were created military tribunes with consular authority. At the beginning of the year the tribunes of the commons took no steps until Marcus Furius Camillus set out for the Faliscans, as that war had been assigned to him. Afterwards by the delay the matter cooled, and Camillus, whom they chiefly feared as an adversary, gained an increase of glory amongst the Faliscans. For when at first the enemy kept themselves within their walls, thinking that the safest plan, by devastating their lands and burning their country houses, he compelled them to come out of their city. But fear forbade them to advance far: they place their camp about a thousand paces from the town, trusting to nothing else for its sufficient security than the difficulty of access, the roads around being rugged and uneven,¹ in some parts narrow, in others steep. But Camillus, breaking up his camp late at night,² followed a prisoner from that part of the country³ as his guide, and at daybreak showed himself in a much higher position [than the enemy.] The Roman triarii⁴ began to work at the fortifications; the rest of the army stood prepared for battle. There he routs and puts to flight the enemy when they attempted to hinder the work, and such terror was struck into the Faliscans in consequence that, rushing past⁵ their own camp, which was nearest to them, in their headlong flight they made for the city. Many were killed and wounded before, in their panic, they rushed in through the gates. Their camp was taken, the plunder was handed over to the quaestors,⁶ to the great indignation

¹ *Asperis confragosisque* may go with *locis* understood, instead of with *viis*.

² *Multa nocte*: when the night was far advanced. St. Mark, vi. 35.

³ *Indidem* (= *inde idem*) *ex agris*: pleonastic, both meaning 'from that part of the country.'

⁴ *Triarii*: the third line of a Roman legion, consisting of veteran soldiers. The men of the first line were called *hastati*, and those of the second *principes*.

⁵ *Castra sua praelati*: 'prae' = 'praeter': cf. i. 45, 'infima valle praefuit Tiberis': ii. 14, 'effuse praelatos hostes': xxviii. 30 (end), 'praelata impetu': xxix. 32, 'rapti gurgite et in obliquum praelati.'

⁶ *Ad quaestores redacta*: p. 49, n. 2.

of the soldiers, but, overcome by the strictness of his authority, they both hated and admired at the same time¹ his firm integrity. Then [followed] a regular siege of the city, and fortifications [were raised], and sometimes on a favourable opportunity attacks were made by the townsmen on the Roman outposts, and slight engagements took place; and the time wore on,² no hopes of success inclining to either side, as corn and other supplies, owing to the store previously laid in,³ were more plentifully at the disposal⁴ of the besieged than the besiegers. And their task seemed likely to be just as long as it had been at Veii, had not fortune given the Roman general an opportunity of displaying his virtue, already well-known in military affairs,⁵ and at the same time a speedy victory.

27.

It was the custom of the Faliscans to employ the same person as teacher and attendant⁶ for their sons, and, as continues to be the case even to this day in Greece, several boys at once were entrusted to the care of one man. One who appeared to excel in learning used, as is generally the case, to educate the children of the chief men. As he had made it a custom in time of peace to lead the boys out before the city for the sake of play and exercise, he did not discontinue this practice during war time, but by drawing them away from the gate, sometimes by shorter, sometimes by

¹ *Eodem*: p. 22, n. 1. Here it means, 'Quam oderant virtutem, eam simul etiam mirabantur.' Cp. next chapter, beginning.

² *Toti tempus*: Hor. *Epod.* xvi. 1, 'altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas.'

³ *Eo ante convecto*: p. 42, n. 4: cf. iv. 22, xxvi. 20, 'ex ante praeparato.'

⁴ *Suppetere*: iv. 22, 'quibuscunque vires suppetebant ad arma ferenda.'

⁵ 'Ni fortuna imp. Rom. dedisset occasionem ostendendae virtutis rebus bellicis iam cognitae, sed in aliis, quae ad magnanimitatem pertinent, nondum satis hostibus perspectae.'—Clericus. Drakenborch thinks 'specimen' is the nom. and = 'a display of honourable conduct': 'ni fortuna simul et virtus victoriam etiam (the second et) celerem dedisset.' I prefer the former interpretation.

⁶ *Eodem magistro et comite*: i.e. at Falerii one man performed the duties of 'praeceptor' and 'paedagogus' (Hor. *S. I.* vi. 81).

longer distances, and advancing further than usual, when an opportunity offered, by varying their play and conversation, he led them on between the enemies' outposts, and thence into the Roman camp to the headquarters¹ of Camillus. There to this abominable act he added a speech still more abominable, [saying] that he had delivered Falerii into the hands of the Romans, since he gave into their power those boys whose parents were there at the head of affairs. When Camillus heard this he said—'Thou hast not come with thy accursed gift either to a people or a commander like to thyself, wretch that thou art! We have not with the Faliscans that union which is made by human compact; but we have and will have that which nature has implanted in us both. There are laws of war, too, as well as of peace, and we have learned to wage them² justly not less than bravely. We possess arms not against that age to which mercy is shown even when cities are taken, but against men who are themselves also armed like ourselves³ and who, though neither wronged nor provoked by us, attacked the Roman camp at Veii. Those thou hast surpassed, as far as lay in thy power, by an unheard-of villany: I will conquer them, as I did Veii, by Roman arts, by valour, labour and arms.' Then, stripping him naked and binding his hands behind his back, he delivered him to the boys to be led back to Falerii, and gave them rods to beat the traitor as they drove him into the city. At this spectacle a crowd of people first came together, and afterwards, the Senate being summoned by the magistrates [to deliberate] on this singular occurrence, so great a change was produced in their feelings that among those who lately infuriated with hatred and rage almost preferred the end of the Veientians to the peace made by the Capenatians, the whole

¹ *Praetorium*: the general's tent. Praetor is applied to almost all offices of command: till the time of the decemvirs the consuls were called praetors.

² *Ea*: *i.e. bella*, to be supplied from *belli*: *gerere* cannot refer to *iura*.

³ *Adversus armatos et ipsos* = 'adv. eos, qui et ipsi, sicut nos, arma habent.'

state cried out for peace. The Roman faith, the justice of the commander, are in all mouths¹ both in the forum and in the senate-house; and by general consent ambassadors set out to the camp of Camillus, and thence by permission of Camillus to Rome to the Senate,² commissioned to surrender Falerii. When introduced to the Senate, they are reported to have spoken³ thus:— ‘Overcome by you and your commander, O Conscript Fathers,⁴ in a victory which no god or man will begrudge, we surrender ourselves to you in the belief (than which nothing is more glorious for the victor) that we shall live more happily under your rule than under our own laws. By the issue of this war two salutary examples have been shown to the human race: you have preferred good faith in war to present victory: we, challenged to a rivalry in good faith, have voluntarily yielded you the victory. We are under your sway: send men to receive our arms, our hostages, our city with its gates open. You will never repent of our fidelity nor we of your rule.’ Thanks were returned to Camillus, both by the enemy and his fellow-citizens. Money was demanded of the Faliscans for the soldiers’ pay for that year, so that the Roman people might be free from taxation. Peace being granted, the army was led back to Rome.

28. When Camillus returned to the city, distinguished with much nobler renown than when white horses had drawn him through the city in triumph, for he had conquered the enemy by justice and good faith, the Senate did not allow⁵ his modesty, in saying nothing, to prevent them from releasing⁶ him from his vow

¹ *Celebrantur*: p. 38, n. 6.

² *Ad Camillum in castra atque inde . . . Romam ad senatum*: notice the government of the cases after a verb of motion.

³ *Locuti traduntur*: cf. ‘dicitur precatus esse,’ ch. 21.

⁴ *Patres conscripti*: originally *patres et conscripti*, i.e. the old patrician senators and the new members added after the expulsion of the kings. Mommsen thinks they were plebeians and were not admitted to the full privileges of the House: cf. p. 41, n. 5.

⁵ *Verecundiam non tulit*: ch. 29, ‘licentiam eius magistratus patres laturos.’

⁶ *Voti liberaretur*: p. 65, n. 1.

without delay: and L. Valerius, L. Sergius and Aulus Manlius were despatched in a ship of war¹ as envoys to carry the golden bowl to Delphi as an offering to Apollo; but not far from the Sicilian Strait they were caught by the pirates of the Liparans and carried off to the Liparæ Isles.² It was the custom of the state to divide the spoil which was acquired as it were by public piracy. A certain Timasitheus happened to be in the chief magistracy that year, a man more like the Romans than his own countrymen, who, himself reverencing³ the name of ambassadors and the gift and the god to whom it was being sent and the reason of the gift, filled with a proper religious respect the multitude also, which almost always is like its ruler; and after having invited the ambassadors to public hospitality, he escorted⁴ them also to Delphi with a guard of ships, and from thence brought them back safe to Rome. By decree of the Senate a league of hospitality⁵ was formed with him and presents given him by the state.⁶ The same year war was waged with the Aequi with varied success, so that both with the armies themselves and at Rome it was uncertain whether they had conquered⁷ or were conquered. The Roman commanders were Gaius Aemilius and Spurius Postumius, two of the military tribunes. At first they acted in concert; then having routed the enemy in a pitched battle, it was agreed that Aemilius should hold Verrugo with a garrison, and Postumius should ravage the country. There the Aequi

¹ *Longa nave*: a ship built more for speed than burden, impelled chiefly by oars, while merchantmen mostly depended on their sails.

² The Lipari Islands, due north of the eastern angle of Sicily: they were also called the Aeolian Isles (τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους, Plut. *Camill.* 8). Plutarch says that the Liparans took the Romans for pirates (πειρατικὰ κλίμακες εἶναι), but this seems hardly likely.

³ *Voritus*: ch. 6, end: 'disciplinam vereri militiae.'

⁴ *Prosecutus*: παρέπεμψε is the word used by Plutarch. Cf. πορεύειν, Hdt. viii. 124 and 129. Acts of the Apostles, xx. 38.

⁵ *Hospitium*: he was made a state friend, Gr. ξένος.

⁶ *Publice*, at the public expense and in the name of the state.

⁷ *Viciissent*: an omitted: vii. 36, 'ignari cives an hostes essent, praesidium erumperet an consul castra cepisset.'

attacked him as he was marching too carelessly¹ in consequence of his success, with his troops² in irregular order, and causing a panic they drove him to the nearest rising ground, and from thence the alarm was carried even to Verrugo to the other [part of the army serving as a] garrison³ there. When Postumius, having withdrawn his men to a place of safety, summoned an assembly and chided their panic and flight, [saying] that they had been put to rout by a most unenterprising and cowardly enemy: the whole army cried out together that they deserved to hear this, and confessed the disgrace they had incurred; but still they would make amends,⁴ and the joy of the enemy should not last long. Demanding that he would immediately lead them from thence to the camp of the enemy (it was in sight, being situated in the plain), they were ready for any punishment⁵ if they did not storm it before night. With praises on their zeal, he orders them to attend to their bodily wants⁶ and to be ready at the fourth watch.⁷ The enemy also were posted to meet them, in order to intercept the flight of the Romans by night from the high ground by the road which led to Verrugo, and before dawn (but the moon was up all night)⁸ the

¹ *Negligentius ab*: p. 23, n. 8. Notice the force of the comparative.

² *Agmen* means always an army on the march.

³ *Præsidium alterum*: 'the other part of the army, which was serving as a garrison:' the rest of the army was in the field, so it would not be correct to translate 'the other garrison.' Cf. ii. 17, 'principes securi percussi, sub corona venierunt coloni alii' ('the others, who were colonists'); vii. 19, 2, 'trecenti quinquaginta octo delecti, nobilissimus quisque, qui Romam mitterentur: vulgus aliud trucidatum.' Hom. *Od.* i. 132, Πάρ δ' αὐτὸς (Telemachus) κλισμὸν θέτο ποικίλον, ἔκπεθεν ἄλλων Μνηστήρων. St. Luke xxiii. 32, ἦγοντο δὲ ἑτεροὶ διὰ κακοῦργοι σὺν αὐτῷ.

⁴ *Correcturos*: Sall. *Jug.* 3, 2, 'delicta corrigas'; 94, 7, 'correcta Marii temeritas.'

⁵ *Nihil poenae*: p. 18, n. 4.

⁶ *Corpora curare*: Verg. *Aen.* iii. 511; Hor. *Epod.* I. ii, 29, 'in cūte curanda'; I. iv, 15; Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 3, ταρπήμεναι. Liv. xxviii. 14, 'ut viri equique curati et pransi essent.'

⁷ *Vigilia*: there were four night-watches, of three hours each, from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m.

⁸ *Pernox*: i.e. was at the full: xxi. 49.

battle began. It was no more confused¹ than one in the daytime: but the shouting having reached Verrugo, they thought that the Roman camp was attacked, and it struck so much terror that, though Aemilius in vain endeavoured to stop them and implored them [to stand their ground], they fled to Tusculum in utter disorder. Thence a report was carried to Rome that Postumius and his army had been cut to pieces. But he, when the first dawn removed the fear of an ambush in case they pursued in loose order, riding through the ranks and demanding the [fulfilment of] their promises, inspired such ardour that the Aequi no longer withstood their charge. Then the slaughter of the fugitives, as is usually the case when men fight with rage rather than courage, was continued to the utter destruction of the enemy; and after the causeless alarm of the state the gloomy news from Tusculum was followed by a letter from Postumius wrapped in laurel² [announcing] that the victory belonged to the people of Rome: the army of the Aequi was annihilated.

As the proceedings of the tribunes of the commons had not yet come to an end, the commons strove to continue³ to the movers of the law their tenure of office, and the patricians strove to re-elect the opponents⁴ of the law: but the commons were the stronger at their own⁵ elections. The patricians avenged this disappointment by passing a decree of the Senate that consuls, a magistracy detested by the commons, should be elected. After an interval of fifteen years, Lucius Lucretius Flavius and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus were made consuls. At the beginning of this year, while the tribunes of the commons exerted themselves to pass the law with great violence because none of their college was likely to thwart them, and the consuls resisted with

29.

¹ *Incertius*; xxix. 27, 'nox deinde incertiora omnia fecit.'

² *Laureatae*, as despatches reporting a victory usually were.

³ *Continuare*: p. 17, n. 3.

⁴ *Intercessores*: those who 'vetoed' the law: p. 34, n. 2.

⁵ *Suis*: i.e. the 'comitia tributa,' at which, in accordance with the Publian Law (ii. 56), the tribunes of the commons were elected.

no less energy on the very same account,¹ and all the state was attending to this question alone, the Aequi stormed Vitellia,² a Roman colony in their territory. The greatest part of the colonists made their escape to Rome, because the capture of the town by treachery in the night gave them an open [means of] flight through the rear of the city.³ That province⁴ fell to the consul L. Lucretius. Setting out with his army he conquered the enemy in a pitched battle and returned victorious to Rome to a much more important contest. A day of trial had been named for Aulus Verginius and Quintus Pomponius, tribunes of the commons for the last two years, and it concerned the honour of the Senate that they should be defended with the unanimous exertions of the patricians; for no one even brought against them any other accusation, either of their mode of life or the conduct of their magistracy, except that, to gratify the patricians, they had vetoed the tribunician bill. The resentment of the commons, however, prevailed over the influence of the Senate, and by a most dangerous precedent⁵ these innocent men were sentenced to a fine of 10,000 *asses* in weight.⁶ The patricians were much displeased at this. Camillus openly accused the commons of a gross violation of duty, 'who now turning on their own friends did not perceive that by their wrongful sentence on the tribunes they had abolished the right of protesting, and that when that was abolished they overthrew the tribunician power. For they were deceived in the hope they entertained⁷ that the patricians would

¹ *I.e.* because they had to depend on themselves.

² *Vitellia* was in the angle where the territory of the Aequi, Latini, and Hernici met. It must be remembered that all Roman colonies, at least at this time, were military garrisons, generally frontier-fortresses.

³ *Avorsa urbis*: viii. 26, 'summa urbis'; xxvi. 40, 'in media urbis'; xxxi. 23, 'infrequentissima urbis'; xxxiii. 17, 'ima urbis'; iv. 22, 'aversa pars urbis' = 'pars maxime ab hoste remota.'

⁴ *Provincia*: p. 40, n. 7.

⁵ *Exemplo*: Hor. *C.* III. v. 15, 'exemplo trahentis Perniciem. Liv. ii. 55, 1.

⁶ *Aeris gravis*: p. 40, n. 1.

⁷ *Quod illi sperarent*: the whole sentence forms an 'accusativus respectus.'

put up with the licence of that magistracy when quite unbridled. If the violence of the tribunes could not be repelled by the aid of other tribunes, the patricians would find some other weapon.' He also blamed the consuls because they had silently¹ allowed those tribunes who had followed the authority of the Senate to be deceived by [trusting to] the public faith. By publicly haranguing² to this effect, he daily increased still further the angry feelings of the people.

But he never ceased inciting the Senate against the law: 'when the day for proposing the law came' [he exclaimed], 'let them not go down to the forum otherwise than as men who remembered that they would have to fight for altar and hearth, for the temples of the gods, and the soil whereon they had been born. For so far as he himself individually was concerned, if it were allowable for him during the struggles of his country to remember his own glory, it would even be a great distinction³ for him that a city captured by himself should be well inhabited, that he should daily enjoy the monument of his own glory and have before his eyes a city that was led⁴ in his triumph, and that all should tread on the traces of his own renown. But he deemed it an impiety that a city should be inhabited which had been deserted and abandoned by the immortal gods, and that the Roman people should dwell in a captive soil, and that a conquered should be taken in exchange for a victorious country.'⁵ Stimulated by these exhortations of their chief, the patricians, old

30.

¹ *Taciti*: 'without saying a word: ' without doing anything to prevent it.

² *Contionabundus* = 'contionans,' and thus governs 'haec.'

³ *Amplum*: 'a great thing: ' ii. 9, 'amplum Tuscis ratus: ' xxviii. 42, 'quia tibi amplum et gloriosum censes esse.'

⁴ *Latam in triumpho suo*: 'cuius nempe imago sive descriptio, ut vulgo fieri solebat, ante currum triumphantis Camilli lata erat.' —Stroth.

⁵ *Victricis patria victam mutari* is the same as 'patriam victricem victa mutari: ' ix. 12, 'victoriae possessionem pace incerta mutasse.' Sall. *Cat.* lviii. 15, 'nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit.' Verg. *G.* i. 8, 'glandem mutavit arista.' Hor. *C. I.* xvi. 26; xvii. 2, II. xii. 23, &c. *Pensare* is used in the same way: Vell. Patere. II. xii. 5, 'bona malis repensasse: ' and so, too, are ἀλλασσειν and ἀνελθεῖν in Greek

and young, came into the forum in a body when the law was proposed, and dispersing themselves through the tribes, each earnestly appealing to the men of his own tribe, they began to implore them with tears not to desert that fatherland for which they themselves and their fathers had fought so valiantly and successfully' (pointing [as they spoke] to the Capitol, the shrine of Vesta, and all the other temples of the gods around): 'let them not lead the Roman people, exiled and homeless, from the soil of their fathers and the gods of their hearths into the city of the enemy, and bring matters to such a pass that it were better that Veii were not taken lest Rome should be deserted.' Because they proceeded not by violence but by entreaties, and in the midst of these entreaties much mention was made of the gods, the greatest part [of the voters] felt a religious scruple, and more tribes by one rejected¹ the law than voted for it. And so gratifying was this victory to the patricians that on the following day a decree of the Senate was passed at the proposal of² the consuls that seven acres for each man of Veientian land should be divided among the commons, and not only to fathers of families, but so that all free persons in their house should be taken into account, and that they might be willing to bring up children³ in the hope⁴ thus afforded.

31. The commons being appeased by this boon, no opposition was made to the elections for consuls being held. Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Manlius, who afterwards had the surname of Capitolinus, were made consuls. These consuls celebrated the Great Games which Marcus Furius the dictator had vowed in the Veientian war. In the same year the temple⁵ of Queen Juno, vowed by the same dictator and in the

¹ *Antiquare* dicebantur qui antiqua probabant. 'Nolumus. leges Angliæ mutare.'

² *Referentibus*: bringing the matter before the Senate: the technical word.

³ *Liberos tollere* proprie est 'eos agnoscere atque ut suos educare' (Stroth.), which a father was not bound to do.

⁴ *In spem*: vi. 5. *Eam* = 'eius rei.'

⁵ *Aedes*, sing.: in the *pl.* it means a house.

same war, was dedicated, and there is a tradition that the dedication was attended with great zeal by the matrons. A war hardly deserving of mention was waged with the Aequi in Mount Algidus, the enemy being routed almost before they came to close quarters. A triumph [was granted] Valerius, because he showed more perseverance in slaughtering them in their flight: Manlius obtained a decree that he should enter the city with an ovation.¹ The same year a new war sprang up with the Volsinians, whither an army could not be led, owing to a famine and pestilence having broken out in the Roman territory from the drought and excessive heat. On this account the Volsinians, uniting with the Salpinatians,² being puffed up with arrogance, wantonly³ invaded the Roman territory: war was declared against the two states in consequence. Gaius Julius, the censor, died: M. Cornelius was substituted in his place, a proceeding which afterwards became a bad omen, because Rome was taken in that lustrum:⁴ nor since that time is a censor ever substituted in the room of one who has died.⁵ The consuls, too, being attacked by the disease,⁶ it was resolved that the auspices should be taken afresh⁷ during an interregnum. Accordingly, after the consuls had resigned their office in accordance with a decree of the Senate, Marcus Furius Camillus is made interrex, who named Publius Cornelius Scipio, and he in turn appointed Lucius Valerius Potitus

¹ *Ovans*: an ovation was an inferior kind of triumph, in which the general entered the city on foot instead of in a gilded car, wore a simple toga instead of a purple robe and a myrtle instead of a laurel crown, carried no sceptre, and sacrificed in the Capitol a sheep instead of a bull.

² *Volsinii* and *Salpinum* were Etruscan cities not far apart, a little north of the 'great Volsinian mere' (Lago Bolsena).

³ Or, 'taking the offensive:' ('*ultra*').

⁴ A *lustrum* was the period of four whole years between two census-takings: it was so called because a solemn purification was made by the censor (*luo*, to purify).

⁵ *Demortui*: who had 'died off,' as we say: used of the death of magistrates while in office.

⁶ *Morbo implicitis*: i. 31, iii. 2.

⁷ *Auspicia renovari*: i.e. for the purpose of having fresh elections, 'quae auspiciato fierent.'

interrex. By the latter six military tribunes with consular power were created, so that even if ill health should disable any one of them the state might have a sufficient number of magistrates.

32. On the calends of July¹ Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Marcus Aemilius, Lucius Furius Medullinus for the seventh time, Agrippa Furius, and Gaius Aemilius for the second time, took office. Of these the Volsinians fell to Lucius Lucretius and Gaius Aemilius as their province, the Salpinatians to Agrippa Furius and Servius Sulpicius. The first battle was with the Volsinians. The war was important from the number of the enemy, but certainly not very severe in the actual fighting. Their array was scattered at the first charge: eight thousand armed men, turning to flight, were cut off by the cavalry, and laid down their arms and came to a surrender. The report of this war had the effect of preventing the Salpinatians from hazarding an engagement: the soldiers secured themselves within their walls. The Romans carried off spoil both from the Salpinatian and the Volsinian territory in every direction without anyone resisting their aggression, until a truce for twenty years was granted the Volsinians, who were weary of the war, on this condition, that they should restore the property of the Roman people and furnish pay for the army for that year. The same year Marcus Caedicius, a plebeian, reported to the tribunes that in the New Street, where the chapel now stands over the temple of Vesta, he had heard in the silence of night a voice clearer than human which bade him tell the magistrates that the Gauls were coming. This, as is usually the case, was neglected on account of the humble station of the informant, and because the nation in question was remote and therefore the less known. And not only were the warnings of the gods despised, for fate was now looming closer, but, further, the only human aid they had, Marcus Furius, they drove from the city. A day of

¹ *Calendis Quintilibus*: p. 33, n. 6. *Agrippa Furius* = Furius Agrippa.

trial was fixed for him by Lucius Apuleius, tribune of the commons, on account of the Veientian spoil¹ (he being also bereft of his son, just as he was growing to manhood, about the same time); and, after summoning to his house the members of his tribe and his dependants, which formed a large part of the commons, and inquiring into their disposition, when he received as their answer that they would contribute whatever sum he should be sentenced to pay, but were unable to acquit him,² he went into exile, praying of the immortal gods that if that wrong were done him without his deserving it they would at the earliest opportunity make the ungrateful state feel the want of him.³ In his absence he was fined 15,000 *asses* in weight.⁴

That citizen was expelled who remaining, if there is anything certain in human affairs, Rome could not be captured; the ruin destined⁵ for the city drew nigh, and now ambassadors come from the Clusines asking aid against the Gauls. There is a tradition⁶ that this nation, captivated by the pleasantness of the produce and especially of the wine, then a new pleasure to them, had crossed the Alps and taken possession of the lands formerly cultivated by the Etruscans; that Arruns of Clusium introduced wine into Gaul for the purpose of enticing the nation, through resentment for the seduction of his wife by Lucumo,⁷ whose guardian he himself had been, a very influential young man, and from whom satisfaction could not be exacted unless foreign force were sought out: he [it is said] was the

33.

¹ *Praedam Veientanam*: θέραι τινὲς χαλκαί, says Plutarch, *Cam.* 12, were seen at his house.

² *Non posse*: some think that this means they could not conscientiously acquit him: others, that it was beyond their power. Plutarch takes it in the latter sense: πρὸς μὲν τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ μὴδὲν οἶσθαι βοηθήσειν, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ἀφείλοντι συνεκτίσειν.

³ Cp. the prayer of Achilles, Hom. *Il.* i. 240, ἥ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ζεταί νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

⁴ 150℥: no doubt a very large sum in those days; p. 40, n. 1.

⁵ *Fatali*: p. 47, n. 2.

⁶ *Traditur fama*: 'fama' may be either the nom. or the abl.

⁷ Arruns is probably, and Lucumo certainly, a title, not a name p. 16, n. 3, and i. 34.

guide in their crossing the Alps and the suggester of their attack on Clusium. I would not, indeed, deny that the Gauls were led to Clusium by Arruns or some other Clusine, but it is sufficiently certain that those who attacked Clusium were not those who first crossed the Alps. For it was two hundred years before they attacked Clusium and took Rome that the Gauls crossed into Italy: nor were these the part of the Etruscans with whom the Gallic armies fought first, but they often fought long before with those who dwelt between the Apennines and the Alps. Before the Roman empire the power of the Tuscans¹ extended widely by land and sea. How great was their power in the upper and lower seas² by which Italy is encircled like an island the very names are a proof,³ for the Italian races call the one by the common name of the nation, the Tuscan Sea, the other the Adriatic, from Atria, a colony of the Tuscans: the Greeks call the same seas the Tyrrhene and the Adriatic. They inhabited the lands that stretch to both seas, in twelve cities on each side:⁴ first on this side the Apennines on the lower sea, afterwards sending as many colonies across the Apennines as there were mother-cities. These colonies possessed the whole region beyond the Po as far as the Alps, except the corner of the Venetians, who dwell around the bay of the sea. The Alpine

¹ *Tuscorum opes*: on the early greatness of Etruria, see Introduction and p. 15, n. 2 and 3. The Etruscans, or Ras, as they called themselves, were of quite different origin to the other Italian races, which were intimately connected one with another. Their appearance, as given in their own sculptures, their religion (p. 16, n. 5), and their manners and customs, are quite distinct from those of the Graeco-Italian stocks. Their language, says Mommsen (Bk. i. ch. 9), occupies 'a position of isolation so complete, that not only has no one hitherto succeeded in its interpretation, but no one has been able even to determine precisely its proper place in the classification of languages.' The race probably descended from the Rhaetian Alps: the story of its Lydian origin (Hdt. i. 94) is 'one of the most unhappy complications of historical tradition.'

² *Mari supero*, the Adriatic: *infero*, the sea between Italy and Sardinia.

³ *Argumento*: p. 22, n. 4.

⁴ *Duodenis*: notice the force of the distributive.

racés also undoubtedly have the same origin, especially the Raeti, whom their very country has rendered savage, so that they retain nothing of their ancient [customs]¹ except the sound of their language, and not even that uncorrupted.

Of the passage of the Gauls into Italy we are told this: in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus² at Rome, the supreme government of the Celts,³ who form the third part of Gaul,⁴ was in the hands of the Bituriges; they gave a king to the Celtic nation.⁵ This was Ambigatus, a man greatly distinguished⁶ by his merit and good fortune both private and public, for in his reign Gaul was so productive both in fruits of the earth and in men that the overflowing population seemed hardly capable of being governed. He being now himself of a great age, and desiring to relieve his kingdom of the too-oppressive multitude, declared that he would send his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Segovesus, two enterprising young men, to whatever settlements the gods should grant⁷ them by augury; let them encourage⁸ as great a number of men as they pleased to go with them, so that no nation might be able to resist them in their progress. Then the Hercynian forests⁹ were assigned by the lots¹⁰ to Segovesus; to Bellovesus the gods granted the much more pleasant route into Italy. He

34.

¹ *Ex antiquo* [more].

² *Regnante*: B.C. 616–578, A.U.C. 147–185.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ *Quae pars Galliae tertia est*: for the grammar, *of.* p. 40, n. 7: for the fact, *Caes. B.G. I. i. 1.*: 'Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli, appellantur.'

⁵ *Celtico*: *of.* τὸ Πεσικόν, &c.

⁶ *Praepollens*: *of.* 'praepotente,' last ch.

⁷ *In quas dedissent sedes*: *i.e.* in eas sedes, quas. *Of.* i. 38, 'haec de prisca Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida,' xxix. 6, 'ut mos est qui diu absunt,' xxxi. 41, 'caesi captique quos equites ab agmine fugientium interclusere.'

⁸ *Excirent*: p. 39, n. 4. *Qua*: p. 17, n. 2.

⁹ *Hercynii saltus* or 'Hercynia silva': described by Caesar, *B.G.* vi. 25: it was nine days' journey wide and sixty long. It is now called the Black Forest. *Saltus* is a woody glen, but sometimes, as here, hardly means more than 'forest.'

¹⁰ *Sortibus*: p. 47, n. 8.

took with him Bituriges, Arverni, Aedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci, all the surplus population of these six peoples. Setting out with immense forces of infantry and cavalry he came into [the country of] the Tricastini. Then the Alps blocked his way, and I marvel not that they seemed impassable, not yet¹ having been crossed by any road (a fact² regarding which there is an uninterrupted tradition), unless we like to believe the fables [told] about Hercules. While the height of the mountains kept the Gauls as it were blockaded there, and they were looking about [for a road] whereby³ they might cross into another world by those ridges that joined the sky, a religious feeling also detained them, as word was brought that foreign strangers in search of land were attacked by the nation of the Salyans. These were the Massilians, who had set out in ships from Phocaea.⁴ Thinking this an omen of their own fortune, the Gauls helped them to fortify the place which they had first occupied on coming to land, without any opposition⁵ on the part of the Salyans. They themselves crossed the Alps through the Taurini and the glens of the Duria,⁶ and after routing the Tuscans in a pitched battle not far from the river Ticinus, hearing that the land on which they had encamped was called the Insubrian territory, having the same name⁷ as the Insubrians, a canton of the Aedui, they founded a city there, following the omen of the place, and called it Mediolanum.⁸

¹ *Nulladum* = *nondum ulla*.

² *Quod*: 'accusativus respectus:' xxx. 26, 'quod quidam auctores sunt.' *Continens* = 'continua.'

³ *Quanam* [*via*].

⁴ *Phocaea*: the story of the emigration of the Phocaeans is well known: it is given at length by Hdt. i. 163, *seq.* Cf. Hor. *Epod.* xvi. 17.

⁵ *Patientibus*: 'invitis quidem Salyis, sed patientibus, quoniam advenas Graecos Gallicis auxiliis adiutos prohibere non poterant.'

⁶ The Duria was a small tributary of the Po, flowing from the Cottian Alps.

⁷ *Cognominem*, adj. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 383, 'gaudet cognomine terra.'

⁸ *Mediolanum*: Milan.

35.

Some time after another band, consisting of Cenomani, under the command of Etitovius, followed the footsteps of the former, and crossing the Alps with the aid of Bellovesus by the same pass, they occupied the country where the cities of Brixia¹ and Verona now are. The Libui settle after them, and the Salluvii, near² the ancient race of the Ligurian Laevi, who dwell about the river Ticinus. Then the Boii and Lingones, marching through the Poenine³ pass, as all between the Po and the Alps was already taken possession of, crossed the Po on rafts, and drove from their territory not only the Etruscans but also the Umbrians: they kept themselves, however, within the Apennines. Then the Senones, the most recent of the new-comers, occupied the country from the river Utis⁴ as far as the Aesis. I find that it was this nation that came to Clusium and then to Rome; it is not certainly known whether they were alone or assisted by all the states of Cisalpine Gaul. The Clusines, terrified by the strange war, on seeing the multitude and the forms of the men such as they had never beheld, and the kind of arms [they carried],⁵ and on hearing that the legions of the Etruscans had often been routed by them on this and on the other side of the Po, sent ambassadors to Rome to seek aid from the Senate, although they had no bond of alliance⁶ or friendship with the Romans, except that they had not defended their kinsmen⁷ the Veientians against the Roman people. With regard to actual assistance their request was not granted, but the three sons of Marcus Fabius Ambustus were sent as ambassadors to treat with the Gauls in the name of the people

¹ *Brixia*: Brescia.

² *Propter* = 'prope' (which some editors give).

³ *Poenino*: the Pennine Alps, between Switzerland and Italy, traversed by the Great St. Bernard Pass.

⁴ *Utis*, a little north of the Rubicon. The Senones settled in Umbria, of which the Rubicon is the north, and the Aesis the south limit.

⁵ *Genus armorum*: See Appendix.

⁶ *Jus societatis*: ch. 27, 'nobis cum Faliscis, quae pacto fit humano, societas non est.'

⁷ *Consanguineos*: both Clusium and Veii were Etruscan cities.

and Senate of Rome, that they should not attack allies¹ and friends of the Roman people from whom they had received no wrong. They would have to be defended by the Romans even by war, if circumstances compelled it; but they thought it better that war itself should be kept at a distance if possible, and that the Gauls, a strange nation, should be known in peace rather than by arms.²

36. The embassy was a mild one, if it had not possessed too fiery ambassadors, more like Gauls than Romans. After they had delivered their message in the council of the Gauls, this answer was given them: 'Though they heard the name of the Romans as a new thing, yet they believed that they were brave men, whose aid had been implored by the Clusines in their peril; and since they preferred to defend their allies against³ them by an embassy rather than by arms, they too did not scorn the peace which they offer, if the Clusines would give up part of their territory to the Gauls who were in want of land, which the Clusines possessed to a greater extent than they cultivated; otherwise peace could not be obtained. They were willing to receive an answer in the presence of the Romans, and if land were refused them they would fight in the presence of the same Romans, so that they might be able to carry home an account of how much the Gauls surpassed all other men in valour.' When the Romans asked what right they had to demand land from its owners or to threaten them with war, and what business Gauls had in Etruria; and on their fiercely replying that they carried their right in their arms and that everything belonged to brave men, they fly⁴ to arms with minds inflamed on both sides, and battle is joined. There, for fate was now weighing on the Roman city, the ambassadors,

¹ *Socios* contradicts what is said above, and is not true.

² *Pace potius cognosci quam armis*: Verg. *Aen.* vii. 235, 'sive fide, seu quis bello est expertus et armis.'

³ *Adversus*: cf. 'societatis adversus Romanos,' last ch.

⁴ *Discurritur*: *impers. pass.*: for the force of the preposition. cf. p. 57, n. 5.

contrary to the law of nations, take arms. Nor could this be [done] in secret,¹ as three of the noblest and bravest of the Roman youth were fighting before the standards of the Etruscans, so conspicuous was the valour of the foreigners. Moreover, Quintus Fabius, riding out on horseback beyond the line, pierced through the side with his spear, and killed, a chief of the Gauls, as he was furiously charging up to the very standards of the Etruscans; and as he was stripping off his spoils, the Gauls recognised him, and word was passed through the whole line that he was a Roman ambassador. Then, giving up their resentment against the Clusines, they sound² a retreat with threats to the Romans. There were some who voted that they should march instantly to Rome, but the older men succeeded in having ambassadors first sent to complain of their wrongs and demand that the Fabii should be surrendered in satisfaction for the breach of the law of nations. When the ambassadors of the Gauls had stated this message as it had been given them, the conduct of the Fabii was not approved by the Senate, and the barbarians seemed to demand their right; but party influence³ prevented⁴ their decreeing, in [the case of] men of such rank, what they believed to be right. And so, that the blame of disaster, if perchance one should be sustained in a war with the Gauls, might not rest with themselves, they refer the consideration of the demands of the Gauls to the people, where influence and wealth were so much more⁵ powerful that those whose punishment was in question were made military tribunes with consular

¹ *Clam esse*: 'esse' with adv.: cf. 'male est,' Hor. *C. II. x. 17*: 'impune est,' Ovid. *Met. iv. 800*; 'frustra esse,' Sall. *Jug. lxxxv. 6*; 'diu esse,' Verg. *Aen. x. 861*; 'palam esse,' Liv. *v. 6*; 'temere esse,' &c.

² *Canunt*: give the signal, by sound of the trumpet.

³ *Ambitio*: ch. 1, 'taedio annuae ambitionis:' i. 35, 'ambitiose' ('by intrigue') 'petiisse regnum;' ii. 41, 'ambitiosus in socios;' xxviii. 40, 'ceteri per metum aut ambitionem' ('nimio placendi studio ducti') 'mussarent;' xxix. 16, 'Scipionis in eo aut ambitio aut negligentia iras hominum irritavit.'

⁴ *Obstabat*: p. 17, n. 1.

⁵ *Plus*: i.e. than in the Senate.

power for the ensuing year. Enraged at this proceeding, as they had a right to be, the Gauls return to their friends, openly threatening war. Together with the three Fabii, Quintus Sulpicius Longus, Quintus Servilius for the fourth time, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis were elected military tribunes.

37.

Though danger of such magnitude¹ was at hand (so much does fortune blind men's minds when she does not wish her impending stroke to be parried²) a state which against Fidenatian and Veientian enemies and other neighbouring peoples had in many crises appointed a dictator, trying extreme means of safety, this same state now, when an enemy before unseen and unheard of was stirring up war against them from the ocean and uttermost coasts of the earth, sought no extraordinary office or aid. Tribunes by whose rashness the war had been brought about were in supreme command, and were holding the levy with no greater strictness than it had been wont to be held for wars of secondary³ importance, and even making light of the reports of the war. In the meantime the Gauls, when they heard that offices of state were spontaneously⁴ conferred on the violators of human law, and that their embassy was trifled with, burning with rage, over which their nation has no control,⁵ immediately snatched up their standards and begin their route with rapid marches. When the cities, terrified at the tumult made by them as they marched precipitately by, began to run to arms and the peasants fled, they used to inform them with great shouting that they were marching to Rome: covering an immense space of ground⁶ wherever they went with

¹ *Moles*: p. 41, n. 1.

² 'Quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat.'

³ *Media* = 'mediocria': ii. 49, 'nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia volentium animo'; vi. 14, 'apparebat nec veri indicii gratiam mediam nec falsi offensionem fore.'

⁴ *Utro*: without their asking for them: ch. 18, 'delatum mihi ultro honorem.'

⁵ *Impotens*: used absolutely by Hor. *C.* III. xxx. 3, 'Aquila impotens' ('ungovernable'); *Epod.* xvi. 62, 'nullius astri Gregem aestuosa torret impotentia.'

⁶ *Immensum loci*: p. 16, n. 2. Cf. 'exiguum campi,' xxvii. 27: 'multum diei,' *ib.* 2, &c. 'Paullum editi loci,' next ch.

their army¹ of horses and men scattered far and wide. But rumour and messengers² from the Clusines and then from other states, one after another, preceding them, the rapidity of the enemy carried the greatest terror to Rome; for hastily leading out their army, which was as it were in a state of confusion,³ they with difficulty⁴ met them at the eleventh milestone, where the river Alia, flowing down from the Crustumian mountains in a very deep bed, unites with the stream of the Tiber not far below the road.⁵ Everywhere in front and all around⁶ was already full of the enemy, and being a nation naturally disposed for idle tumult,⁷ they filled every place with a horrible sound through their savage songs and mingled shouts.

There the military tribunes, without first choosing a site for a camp, without previously throwing up a rampart to which they might retreat, not even mindful of the gods at any rate, if not of men; without either taking the auspices or offering sacrifice;⁸ draw up their line, extended towards the flanks⁹ so that they might

38.

¹ *Agmine*: p. 72, n. 2. *Quacunq̃ue*: p. 82, n. 3.

² *Antecedente fama nuntisque*: ch. 28, 'Postumium exercitum-que occisum.'

³ *Tumultuario exercitu*: *i.e.* one hurriedly raised and unfit to take the field: i. 37, 'quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario milite.'

⁴ *Aegre*: *i.e.* they were hardly in time to prevent the Gauls coming even nearer the city.

⁵ *Viam*: the great northern road from Rome afterwards called the 'Via Flaminia.'

⁶ *Contra circaque*: used, as often, adverbially: ch. 30, 'circa templa deorum ostentantes.'

⁷ *Nata in vanos tumultus*: ch. 54, 'ad incrementum urbis natum unice esse locum.' Hor. *C. I.* xxvii, 1, 'natis in usum laetitiae scyphis.'

For the fact, *of. xxxviii.* 17, where the Gauls are described as having 'procera corpora, promissae et rutilatae comae, vasta scuta, praelongi gladii' (see Appendix); 'ad hoc, cantus ineuntium praelium et ululatus et tripudia' ('dancing'), 'et quatientium scuta in patrium quendam modum horrendus armorum crepitus, omnia de industria composita ad terrorem.'

⁸ *Litato*: impersonal part. pass. *Litare* is to offer a sacrifice which is accepted and gives favourable omens: Gr. *καλλιερπειν*.

⁹ *Diductam in cornua*: xxxi. 21, 'ut extenuatam mediam diductis cornibus aciem Gallorum vidit.'

not be surrounded by the vast numbers of the enemy. The fronts, however, of the two armies could not be made equal,¹ though by thinning their line they rendered their centre weak and scarcely connected. There was on the right a little piece of rising ground, which it was resolved should be filled with reserve troops: and this circumstance, as it was the beginning of their panic and flight, so was also the only protection for the fugitives. For Brennus,² the chief of the Gauls, being most afraid of stratagem, for he saw how small³ were the numbers of the enemy, and thinking that the high ground was occupied for this purpose, that when the Gauls had closed with the line of the legions front to front the reserves might make a charge on them in rear and flank, directed his troops against the reserve, not doubting that if he had once driven them from their position the victory in the open ground⁴ would be easy for him, as he was so much superior in numbers. Thus, not only fortune but judgment as well was on the side of the barbarians. In the other army there was nothing like [the usual conduct of] Romans either among the generals or the soldiers. Terror and flight had already⁵ seized their hearts, and such forgetfulness of everything that a much larger part of them fled to Veii, a city that had belonged to their enemies, though the Tiber stood in their way, than by the straight road to Rome to their wives and children. For a short time their position protected the reserve troops: in the rest of the array, as soon as the shout was heard, by those nearest on the flank, by the most distant, in rear, they fled from an unknown enemy almost before they saw him, safe and untouched, not only⁶ without attempting to fight, but without even

¹ *Aequari frontes*: iii. 62, 'cum aequassent aciem.'

² *Brennus* is a title: 'King of the army.'

³ *In*: ch. 36, 'in tantae nobilitatis viris.'

⁴ *Aequo campi*: p. 86, n. 6; p. 74, n. 3.

⁵ *Occupaverat*: p. 53, n. 4.

⁶ *Non modo*, when followed by 'ne... quidem,' is equivalent to 'non modo non:' *cf.* i. 40, 'advenam non modo civicae, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis.'

returning the battle-cry. Nor was there any slaughter of them in the battle: their rear was cut to pieces as they hindered their own flight by their struggling with one another in the crush. On the bank of the Tiber, whither the whole of the left wing fled after throwing down their arms, a great slaughter took place, and the current swallowed up many who did not know how to swim or were exhausted with the weight of their coats of mail and other armour: the greatest part, however, made their escape safe to Veii, whence not only no garrison but not even a messenger of the disaster was sent to Rome. From the right wing, which had stood at a distance from the river and more at the foot of the hill, all made for Rome, and, without even closing the gates of the city, fled for refuge into the citadel.

The miraculous attainment of so sudden a victory kept back even the Gauls, like men stupefied, and they themselves, rooted to the ground with amazement, at first stood still, as though ignorant of what had happened: then they feared an ambush: finally, they began to gather up the spoils of the slain and pile together¹ heaps of arms, as their custom is: and then at last, when no hostile sign was anywhere observed, they began their march and arrived at the city of Rome not long before sunset. When horsemen who had gone on before brought back word that the gates there were not shut, that no guard was on the watch before the gates, and that there were no armed men on the walls, another marvel like the former one checked their advance: and fearing night and the situation of a city that was unknown to them, they encamped between Rome and the Anio, sending scouts round the walls and the gates on the other side of the city [to ascertain]² what were the enemy's plans in their desperate circumstances. As for the Romans, since a greater number had made for Veii than for Rome out

39.

¹ *Coacervare*: prob. to burn in honour of their war-god: Caes. *B. G.* vi. 17.

² *Exploratoribus missis* = 'hominibus exploratum' (or 'qui explorarent') 'missis.'

of the battle, and no one believed¹ that any survived except those who had fled back to Rome, being all alike, both living and dead, mourned for as lost, they filled almost the whole city with lamentations. Afterwards, when it was announced that the enemy was close at hand, the public alarm overwhelmed private sorrow: presently they heard discordant yells and songs as the barbarians wandered round the walls in troops. All the time after this till the morrow's dawn kept their minds in such suspense that every moment an attack seemed about to be made at last on the city. At first their approach [alarmed them], because they had come close up to the city; for [they thought] that if this were not their intention they would have been sure to remain at the Alia: then about sunset,² because not much of the day was left, making sure that they would attack them before night: then [they believed] that the design was put off till night in order that they might strike the greater panic: last of all the approach of dawn disheartened them, and the evil itself followed close upon their continual alarm³ when the standards of the foe⁴ were borne in through the gates. That night, however, and the following day the state by no means resembled that which had fled with such cowardice at the Alia. For as there was no hope that the city could be defended now that so small a body of men was left, it was determined that the young men of military age and the strongest part of the Senate should retire into the citadel and Capitol⁵ with their

¹ *Nemo crederet*: gov. by 'cum.' The nom. to 'impleverunt' is 'Romani complorati,' which = 'the mourning for the Romans: 'adscibitur enim mortuis et absentibus vivis, qui mortui credebantur, quod in urbe vivi fecerunt.'—Gronovius.

² *Sub occasum solis*: 'a little before sunset: 'the proper force of *sub* with an accusative referring to time.

³ *Timori perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit*: 'malum iam quasi se adiunxit perpetuo isti timori.' 'Continens' = 'continuum: 'i. 29, 'continens agmen migrantium.'

⁴ *Infesta*: or, in battle array.

⁵ *Arcem Capitoliumque*: 'Both names,' says Mommsen (i. p. 121, 'a), 'although afterwards employed as proper names of locality *Capitolium* being applied to the summit of the stronghold-hill that t to the river; *arx* to that next to the Quirinal), were origi-

wives and children, that arms and corn should be collected there, and that thence, from their fortified position,¹ they should defend both gods and men and the Roman name: that the flamen of Quirinus,² the priests and the Vestal virgins³ should carry the sacred things of the state far from the slaughter and the flames, and that the worship of the gods should not be abandoned until none survived to celebrate it. If [thought they] the citadel and the Capitol, the homes of the gods,⁴ if the Senate, the source of public counsel, if the young men of military age,⁵ survived the impending ruin of the city, slight would be the loss⁶ of the older men, a crowd left behind in the city as being certain to perish in any case.⁷ And in order that the plebeian multitude might bear this with greater resignation, the old men who had enjoyed triumphs and consulships openly declared that they would die with them and not over-burden the scanty supplies of the fighting men with those bodies with which they could neither bear arms nor defend their country.

Such were the consolations exchanged between the older men who were doomed to death. Then their exhortations were turned to the band of young men whom they escorted into the Capitol and the citadel, commending to their valour and youth whatever might

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nally appellatives, corresponding exactly to the Greek *κορυφή* and *ἀκρά*. Every Latin town had its *capitolium* as well as Rome. The proper local name of the Roman stronghold-hill was *mons Tarpeius*.

¹ *Inde*: 'ex Capitolio': 'cui interpretationis gratia additur *ex loco munito*': ch. 43, 'inde ex loco superiore.'

² *Flaminem*: there were three flamens, the Flamen Dialis or priest of Jupiter, the Flamen Martialis or priest of Mars Gradivus, and the Flamen Quirinalis or priest of Romulus (Quirinus). They wore woollen robes and caps (*apices*), and their wives shared with them the priesthood.

³ *Vestales* (*virgines*), the priestesses of Vesta, the Hearth-Goddess of the state: they were six in number. Their chief duty was to maintain the sacred fire 'that burns for aye.'

⁴ *Sedes deorum*: the Capitol contained the great temple of Jupiter, in which were shrines to Juno and Minerva, vi. 16.

⁵ *Militaris iuventus*: the men from seventeen to forty-five years of age.

⁶ *Facilem iacturam*: Verg. *Aen.* ii. 646: metaphor from throwing overboard cargo to relieve a ship.

⁷ *Utique*: however things turned out.

be the remaining fortune of a city that for three hundred and sixty years had been victorious in all her wars. As those who bore with them all the hopes and resources¹ [of the state] parted from those who had resolved not to survive the ruin of their captured city, the occurrence itself and the sight of it were very pathetic, and the weeping of the women at the same time, and their uncertain running about as they followed first one and then another, and asked their husbands and sons to what fate were they leaving them,² left unfelt no human misery that could remain. A great part of them, however, followed their friends into the citadel, no one either preventing or inviting them, because what was expedient³ for the besieged to diminish the number of non-combatants was but little in accordance with humanity. Another crowd, chiefly of the commons, which so small a hill could neither contain nor support in such a scarcity of corn, poured forth from the city as if in one single body and made for Janiculum.⁴ Thence part dispersed through the fields, part made for the neighbouring cities, without any leader or common plan, each following his own hopes and his own counsel, giving up the public interests as lost.⁵ In the meantime the flamen of Quirinus and the Vestal virgins, putting aside the care of their own property, took counsel as to which of the sacred things were to be carried with them, which were to be left behind, for their strength was not sufficient to carry them all; or what place would be likely to preserve them in trusty guard; and thought it the best plan to hide them in

¹ *Spem atque opem* = 'spem opis': the figure of speech called hendiadys: cf. ch. 43, 'per vim atque arma': *ib.* 'indignando mirandoque': ch. 48, 'aestu et angore.'

² Or, 'which fate should they (the women) choose:': *i.e.* to stay or to go.

³ *Quod utile* [erat]: *i.e.* 'prohibere.'

⁴ *Ianiculum*: a fortified suburb on the north or Etruscan bank of the Tiber, connected with Rome by a bridge (Pons Sublicius).

⁵ *Communibus deploratis*: 'communis' = τὰ κοινά. 'Deplorata: quasi desperata ac perdita, nullam amplius salutis spem habentia:': iii. 38, 'deploratur in perpetuum libertas:': ix. 7, 'deploratum paene Romanum nomen:': xxvi. 12, 'spem Capuae retinendae deploratam.'

casks and bury them in the chapel that is next to the house of the flamen of Quirinus, where it is now an irreligious act to spit. The rest they carry with them, dividing the load between them, by the road which leads to Janiculum over the bridge of piles.¹ When Lucius Albinus, one of the Roman commons, who, among the rest of the crowd which was departing from the city as unfit for war, was conveying his wife and children in a waggon, caught sight of them on that hill,² respecting even then the distinction between divine and human things, and thinking it an offence against religion that the public priests and sacred things of the Roman people should go on foot and be carried, while he himself and his family were seen in a carriage, he bade his wife and children get down, and placed the virgins and sacred vessels in the waggon and carried them to Caere,³ whither the priests were travelling.

At Rome, meanwhile, after everything had been arranged, as well as was possible in ⁴ such circumstances, for defending the citadel, the crowd of aged people returned to their homes and awaited the coming of the enemy, with hearts inflexibly resolved on death. Those of them who had held curule magistracies ⁵ sat in the midst of their house on ivory chairs, clothed in the most splendid dress⁶ which they wore when drawing the sacred chariots⁷ or riding in triumph, so that they might die in the emblems of their old fortune and dignities and

41.

¹ The *Pons Sublucius* (called by Ovid, *Fast.* v. 622, 'pons robo-reus,' and by Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* xvii. ἡ ξυλλήνη γέφυρα) was that so gallantly defended by Horatius Cocles: it joined Janiculum to Rome.

² *Clivo*: the ascent of the hill on which Janiculum stood.

³ *Caere*, whither Tarquin fled on his expulsion, was an Etruscan town near the coast.

⁴ *Ut in tali re*: Hor. *S. I.* vi. 79, 'in magno ut populo si qui vidisset' ('so far as anyone could see me in such a crowd').

⁵ *Curules magistratus*: the offices of Dictator, Censor, Consul, Praetor, and Curule Aediles, who possessed the right of using *sollae curules* or ivory chairs of state, originally an emblem of regal power.

⁶ *Quae augustissima vestis est*: p. 81, n. 7.

⁷ *Tensas*: chariots in which the statues of the gods were drawn in procession by the citizens in the Great Games.

merit. Some tell us that they devoted themselves for their country and the citizens of Rome,¹ Marcus Foliu, the chief pontiff, dictating² the form of words. The Gauls, both because they had relaxed their angry feelings after the strife of battle, owing to the intervention of the night, and because they had not anywhere fought in the field with doubtful battle, and were not then taking the city by assault or violence, entered the city next day through the open Colline gate,³ without rage and without heat of passion, and proceed into the Forum, casting their eyes around on the temples of the gods and citadel, which alone gave any appearance of war. Thence, leaving a small guard, for fear any attack from the citadel or the Capitol should be made on them while scattered about, they disperse in search of plunder through the streets that were empty of men to meet them;⁴ part rush in a body into all the nearest houses, part make for the most distant, expecting that they at any rate would be untouched and full of plunder. Then terrified by the very loneliness, lest some stratagem of the enemy might entrap them as they wandered about, they returned again to the Forum and the places adjoining it and mustered together. There, though the halls of the chief men were opened wide, while the dwellings of the commons were shut up, almost greater hesitation possessed them to force their way into those that were open than those that were shut; so much were they like men stricken with awe, as they beheld in the porches of the houses men sitting like gods, in the majesty which their countenance and the gravity of their

¹ *Quiritibus Romanis*: Quirites is the legal term for Roman citizens as such: it is *never* applied to soldiers.

² *Præfante* = 'præeunte': iv. 21, 'præeuntibus duumviris': viii. 9, x. 28, 'præire verba': xxxi. 9, 'vovit in eadem verba consul, præeunte maximo pontifice': *ib.* 17, 'præeuntibus execrabile carmen sacerdotibus.' All the virtue of religious invocations consisted in their being repeated exactly in the ancient form, which varied greatly from the later stages of the language: hence, to prevent mistakes, the priest himself used to dictate the words that were to be used. *Carmen*: p. 46, n. 6. *Devovisse*: cp. the devotion of the Decii, viii. 9 and x. 28.

³ *Collina porta*: in the north-east of Rome.

⁴ *Occursu hominum* = 'hominibus occurrentibus.'

face displayed, besides their ornaments and apparel more august than human. As they stood looking on them as on statues, Marcus Papirius, one of them, is said to have roused the anger of a Gaul, who was stroking his beard (as in those days all let it grow),¹ by a blow² on the head with his ivory staff; the beginning of the slaughter arose with him, and all the rest were murdered on their seats. After the slaughter of the chief men not a man was spared;³ the houses were ransacked and set on fire when emptied.

But whether all were not eager to destroy the city or whether it had been so determined by the chiefs of the Gauls, both that some fires should be shown for the sake of terrifying them [to see] if⁴ the besieged could be forced to a surrender through affection for their homes, and at the same time that all the houses should not be burnt, in order that they might keep all that remained of the city as a pledge, to influence the minds of the enemy: [whatever the reason,] the first day the conflagration by no means spread either indiscriminately or to any great extent, as is usual in a captured city. The Romans, seeing from the citadel the city full of enemies, and their rushing about in every direction through all the streets, as some new disaster presented itself in one quarter after another, were not only⁵ unable to retain their coolness of mind, but even the steady use⁶ of their ears and eyes. Wherever the shouts of the enemy, the wailing of women and children, the roar of the flames, and the crash of falling houses drew their

42.

¹ *Promissa*: to grow a beard was 'promittere' or 'pascere barham.'

² *Scipione incusso*: abl. abs.

³ *Paroi*: impers. pass.: ch. 27 (mid.), 'cui etiam captis urbibus parcutur.'

⁴ *Si*: cf. i. 7, 'pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent:' xxx. 12, 'obequitat hostium turmis, si pudore, si periculo suo fugam sistere posset:' xxxi. 45, 'missis qui tentarent oppidanorum animos, si voluntate tradere urbem quam vim experiri mallent.'

⁵ *Non solum*: p. 88, n. 6. *Consipere*: Seneca, *De Constan.* 16, 'non sapienti opus est viro, sed consipiente.' Aul. Gell. VII. iii. 12, 'cum de statu mentis suae deturbati non satis consiperent.'

⁶ *Constare*: Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 17, 'mente vix constat,' i.e. 'vix compos mentis est.'—Stroth.

attention, they used to turn their thoughts, their faces, and their eyes towards each in terror, as if placed by fortune to [gaze on] the spectacle of their sinking country, and left as protectors of nothing that belonged to them except their own bodies; the more to be pitied than any others who have ever been besieged, because they were besieged, shut out from their country, and seeing all their property in the power of the enemy. Nor was the day so miserably spent followed by a calmer night, and then an unquiet dawn succeeded the night; nor was there a moment which failed to show the spectacle of some ever new disaster. But still, though loaded and overwhelmed by so many misfortunes, not a whit did they relax their determination, even if they should see all laid low in flames and ruin, to defend with all their courage the hill that they held, left [as the only hope] for liberty, however ill-provided and small it was; and at last, as the same things happened day after day, they grew, as it were, familiar with misfortune, and diverted their thoughts from the feeling of their own circumstances, looking to their arms only, and the sword in their right hands, as the sole remnants of their hopes.

43. The Gauls, also, after waging war for several days in vain, against nothing but the houses in the city, when they saw nothing remain amongst the conflagrations and ruins of the captured city except armed enemies, who had in vain been menaced by so many disasters, and were not likely to bend their hearts to a surrender, unless force were applied, resolve to try extreme means and make an assault on the citadel. At early dawn, on a signal being given, their whole multitude is drawn up in the Forum; then, raising a shout and forming a *testudo*,¹ they mount² the hill. Against them the

¹ *Testudine facta*: p. 24, n. 5. The 'testudo' here meant, however, is a shelter formed by a dense body of men holding their shields above their heads so as to overlap like the scales of a tortoise (whence the name). It is described xliv. 9, 'quadrato agmine facto, scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis, fastigatam, sicut tecta aedificiorum sunt, testudinem faciebant.'

² *Subeunt*: i.e. the Clivus Capitolinus: the usual word for as-

Romans [did] nothing rashly or confusedly; strengthening the guard at all the approaches, and posting their main strength in that quarter where they saw the standards advancing, they allow the enemy to ascend, judging that the more they advanced up the steep [ascent] the more easily could they be hurled down the declivity. About the middle of the slope they met them, and making a charge on them from the higher ground, which almost of itself bore them against the enemy, they routed the Gauls with such slaughter and overthrow,¹ that never afterwards did they try that kind of fighting, either in parties or all together. Accordingly, giving up all hopes of making their way up by force of arms, they prepare for a blockade, which, till then, they had not thought of, and so had consumed, by the fires [they had kindled] in the city, all the corn that there had been in the city; and during the very same days, all in the fields had been hastily carried off to Veii. Dividing their army, therefore, they resolved that it should partly be employed in plundering through the neighbouring states, and partly in blockading the citadel, so that the ravagers of the country might supply corn to the besiegers. When the Gauls set out from the city, mere fortune led them to Ardea, where Camillus was in exile, to make trial of Roman valour. While, feeling more sorrow there for the national fortune than for his own, he passed his old age in murmuring at gods and men, and in indignant wonder where those men were who had captured Veii and Falerii with him, and who had always carried on their other wars rather by courage than the favour of fortune, he suddenly hears that an army of the Gauls was approaching, and that the Ardeatians were met in council on the subject in

cending a slope: Hor. S. I. v. 25, 'subimus Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.'

¹ *Ruina*: poetically used: 'ruina' is anything that falls headlong or at its full length on the ground: it is a favourite word with Vergil, between whom and Livy there is considerable resemblance of style; e.g. *Aen.* i. 4, 'memorem Iunonis ob iram:' *cf.* Liv. ix. 29, 'memori deum ira.' *Aen.* i. 33, 'tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem:' *cf.* Liv. xxv. 11, 'quo minor moles in transitu esset.' *Aen.* i. 415, 'sublimis:' *cf.* Liv. i. 16, 'sublimem raptum procella.'

44.

great alarm. As though moved by divine inspiration, advancing in the midst of the assembly, though previously wont to keep away from such meetings, he said : 'Men of Ardea, my old friends and also my new fellow-citizens, since your kindness has so brought it about¹ and my own fortune has caused it to be so ; let no one think that I have come here forgetful of my own condition ; but circumstances and the common danger compel everyone to contribute to the public good² whatever help he can in such a perilous case. And when shall I repay you for your good services to me, that are so great, if I hang back now ? or where will you be able to make use of me if not in war ? By this skill³ I stood high⁴ in my native country, and, unconquered in war, in peace I was expelled by my ungrateful fellow-citizens. To you now, men of Ardea, is offered the fortunate chance both of making a return for the kindnesses⁵ of the Roman people—how great they are you yourselves remember, and therefore⁶ they need not be made matter of reproach amongst men who recollect them well—and of winning for this city great renown in war from the common enemy, who is approaching in a straggling body. It is a race to which nature has given bodies and spirit great rather than firm ; for this reason they bring to every contest more threats than strength. Let the disaster of Rome be a proof of this ; they took a city that was thrown open to them ; they are withstood by a small band from the citadel and Capitol ; already overcome with the weariness of a blockade they withdraw and scatter themselves wandering through the

¹ *Ita tulit* : cf. 'si res ita tulit,' &c.

² *In medium conferre* : Verg. *Aen.* xi. 335, 'consulite in medium.'

³ *Hæc arte* : i.e. 'arte bellica.' Cf. Hor. *C.* III. iii. 9.

⁴ *Steti* : p. 39, n. 1.

⁵ *Beneficiis* : iv. 10.

⁶ *Nec enim exprobranda* : i.e. 'nec ea narrare volo, non enim,' &c. Cf. p. 20, n. 6. For the sentiment cp. Cic. *De Am.* xx. 71, 'odiosum sane genus hominum, officia exprobrantium : quæ meminisse debet is, in quem collata sunt ; non commemorare, qui contulit.' Ter. *Andr.* I. i. 16, 'nam isthæc commemoratio Quasi exprobratio est immemoris beneficii.'

fields. Gorged with food and wine, hastily swallowed, when night comes on¹ they stretch themselves indiscriminately in the fashion² of wild beasts near streams of water, without entrenchment, without advanced posts or guards, now even more incautious than usual through³ their success. If it is your intention to defend your walls and not suffer all this country to become Gaul, take arms in the first watch⁴ and follow me in full force⁵ to a slaughter, not a battle. If I do not deliver them to you fast bound in sleep, to be butchered like sheep, I decline not the same issue to my fortunes at Ardea as I had at Rome.'

Both friends and foes were well assured that at that crisis there nowhere existed any other man so great in war. The assembly being dismissed, they refresh their bodies,⁶ anxiously waiting [to see] how soon the signal should be given. When it was given, they at once presented themselves⁷ at the gates to Camillus in the silence of the early part of the night. Going out not far from the city, they come upon the camp of the Gauls, just as it had been foretold them, undefended and neglected on every side, and attack it with a great shout. Nowhere is there any battle, but slaughter in every direction. Their bodies are cut down, naked⁸ as they are, and relaxed with sleep. The most remote, however, startled from their beds, and ignorant what the danger was or whence it came, were driven by panic to flight, and some in their blind haste⁹ among the very enemy. A great part of them, after having reached the territory of Antium, were cut off by an

45.

¹ *Appetit*: p. 53, n. 2.

² *Ritu* = 'modo:' esp. in phrase *pecudum ritu*.

³ *Ab secundis rebus*: p. 23, n. 8.

⁴ *Vigilia*: p. 72, n. 7.

⁵ *Frequentes*: πανδημει, *en masse*.

⁶ *Corpora curare*: p. 72, n. 6.

⁷ *Præsto fuere*: were ready to hand.

⁸ *Nuda*: perhaps 'unarmed, defenceless:' i. 27, iii. 19, xxviii. 3, 'dextras nudas ostentantes, ut gladios abiecissee appareret:' δρόπλους, Plut.

⁹ *Improvistos*: ch. 21, 'velut repentino icti furore improvidi currerent ad muros.'

attack made on them, as they straggled about, by the men of that town. In the Veientian territory a similar slaughter was made of the Tuscans,¹ who were so far from pitying a city which had now been their neighbour for nearly four hundred years, crushed as it was by an enemy never before seen or heard of, that at that very time they were making incursions into the Roman territory, and, laden with spoil, had it in their mind to attack Veii also and the garrison, the last hope of the Roman name. The Roman soldiers had seen them wandering through the fields, and then collected in a body, driving the spoil before them, and they perceived their camp pitched not far from Veii. Thereupon, first self-commiseration, then a sense of wrong and anger in consequence, seized their hearts. Were their disasters to be a laughing-stock even to the Etruscans,² from whom they had diverted the Gallic war on to themselves? They hardly restrained their passion so as not to make the attack instantly. But being checked by Quintus Caedicius, a centurion, whom they had themselves set in command over them, they put up with the delay till night.³ Only an adviser equal to Camillus was wanting; everything else was managed in the same manner, and with the same issue of fortune. And further, under the guidance of some prisoners⁴ who had survived the slaughter of the night, they set out to Salinae⁵ towards another band of Tuscans, and in the following night they unexpectedly made still greater carnage, and returned to Veii triumphing⁶ in their double victory.

46. At Rome in the meantime the siege was generally

¹ *Tuscorum*, i.e. Etruscans, Etrurians.

² *Etruscisne etiam ludibrio esse clades suas?* P. 64, n. 2, and p. 22, n. 4.

³ *Rem in noctem sustinere*: or simply, 'put off the matter till night:' iii. 60, 'sustinuit consilio bellum: quodsi extemplo,' &c.: *ib.* 65, 'plebem, sustinendo rem, ab seditionibus continere.'

⁴ *Ducibus captivis* [existentibus]: abl. abs.: *cf.* ch. 15 (*init.*), 'hostibus Etruscis.'

⁵ *Salinae*, i.e. the Salt-pits: near Ostia: *cf.* i. 33, 'in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae.'

⁶ *Orantes*: not to be taken in its technical sense: p. 77, n. 1.

sluggish, and there was quiet on both sides, the Gauls being intent on this alone, that none of the enemy should be able to escape between their posts; when suddenly a young Roman caused both his countrymen and the enemy to notice him with admiration. The Fabian family had a sacrifice [to offer] on a fixed day¹ on the Quirinal hill. To perform this, Gaius Fabius Dorsuo, descending from the Capitol in the Gabinine cincture,² and bearing the sacred vessels in his hands, passed out through the midst of the enemy's posts, quite unmoved by the voice or the threats of any, and made his way to the Quirinal hill; and, having there accomplished everything in the customary manner, turning back by the same way³ with look and gait just as steady as before, confident that the gods were propitious whose worship he had not abandoned even when warned off by the fear of death, he returned to his friends in the Capitol, the Gauls being either amazed at his marvellous audacity, or affected even by religious awe, of which the nation is by no means regardless. At Veii in the meantime not only the spirit of the men, but also their strength was increasing daily. And when not only Romans flocked together there from the open country, who had been scattered after the defeat or the disaster of the city's capture, but also volunteers poured in from Latium in order to share in the spoil,⁴ it now seemed high time for their country to be recovered and snatched from the hands of the enemy; but a head was wanting for this strong body. The very spot⁵ reminded

¹ *Statum* : ch. 52, 'dies statī' iii. 15, 'statum iam ac prope solenne in singulos annos bellum.'

² *Gabino cinctu* : viii. 9, 'incinctus cinctu Gabino : ' Verg. *Aen.* vii. 612. The toga was thrown over the left shoulder, brought up under the right arm, and tied across the breast, thus gathering up the garment and leaving the wearer free for exertion. The name is derived, according to Servius, from the fact that while the men of Gabii were offering sacrifice their city was once suddenly attacked by the enemy, and, not having time to change their dress of peace, they girt up their togas in the manner described, and fought thus. It was the sacred costume.

³ *Eadem* [via].

⁴ *Ut in parte praedae essent* : p. 57, n. 3.

⁵ 'Veii nempe, quos Camillus cepit.'—Stroth. *Ductu auspi-*

them of Camillus, and a large part consisted of soldiers who had warred successfully under his leadership and auspices; and Caedicius declared that he would not bring things to such a state that any god or man should put an end to his authority, instead of rather himself, mindful of his own rank,¹ calling for a general. It was unanimously resolved that Camillus should be summoned from Ardea; but only after first consulting the Senate, which was at Rome. So much did a sense of proper respect² govern everything, and so strictly did they observe the distinctions of things even in their almost ruined fortunes. A passage had to be made with very great peril through the enemy's guards. For this task an enterprising young man, named Pontius Cominius, offered his services, and supporting himself on cork, he was carried down by the current of the Tiber³ to the city. From there, where the distance from the bank was shortest, he made his way, over rocky ground that was very precipitous, and therefore neglected by the enemy's guard, into the Capitol, and being brought before the magistrates, he delivered the message of the army. Then, having received a decree of the Senate that Camillus, recalled from exile by the *comitia curiata*, should be immediately named dictator by command of the people, and the soldiers should have any general they chose, he departed by the same way and hastened with his news to Veii. Deputies were sent to Ardea to Camillus, and conducted him to Veii, or else a law was passed by the *curiae*,⁴ and he was appointed dictator in absence; and I am more inclined to believe this (*viz.*, that he did not set out from Ardea until he found that the law was passed), because he could neither change his residence without

eloque: cf. next p., n. 2, and cp. Hor. *C. I.* vii. 27, 'Teucro duce et auspice Teucro.'

¹ *Ordinis sui*: i.e. 'se tantum centurionem esse.'

² *Pudor* = *aîdês*.

³ *Secundo Tiberi*: cp. xlv. 35, 'adverso Tiberi ad urbem est subvectus.'

⁴ The *comitia curiata*, or Patrician Assembly, could alone confer the *imperium* or military authority: see Introduction.

the command of the people,¹ nor hold the auspices in the army until he was appointed dictator.²

While this was being done at Veii, the citadel of Rome and the Capitol were in the meantime in great peril. For the Gauls, either noticing a man's footsteps where the messenger from Veii had come, or perceiving of themselves a part of the rock easy of ascent³ near the shrine of Carmentis,⁴ one dark night, first sent forward one unarmed man to try the path, and then, passing their arms from one to another when there was any difficult ground, and alternately leaning on and in turn supporting and drawing up one another, according as the ground required, they made their way to the summit in such silence that they not only escaped the notice of⁵ the sentinels, but did not even rouse the dogs, an animal so easily disturbed at sounds by night. But they did not escape the notice of the geese, which, as being sacred to Juno, were spared even⁶ in their extreme scarcity of food. This proved their salvation;⁷ for Marcus Manlius, who had been consul three years before, a man distinguished in war, was awakened by their cries and the flapping of their wings, and seizing his arms, and at the same time calling the rest to arms, he proceeded to the spot; and, while the others were in confusion and terror, he struck with the boss of his shield a Gaul who had already got footing on the summit, and hurled him down. And when the fall of this man, as he rolled down, threw down those who were nearest to him, he began to slay others who in their

47.

¹ *Iniussu*: p. 54, n. 5. *Mutari finibus* = 'mutare se f.,' to return from exile: the reverse of *mutare solum*, to go into exile.

² The auspices at the beginning of a campaign were always taken by the chief magistrate for the time being, who was not necessarily the actual commander of the army in the field.

³ *Adscensus aequo*: 'adsc.' may be governed by 'aequo' or may agree with it: 'of easy ascent.'

⁴ The mother of Evander (Verg. *Aen.* viii. 335-340): she had a temple at the foot of the Capitol.

⁵ *Fallerent* = *Eladov*.

⁶ *Tamen*: their need was very great, but *still* (*ἔτι*) the geese were spared. The protasis of 'tamen,' as of 'enim' (p. 20, n. 6), must often be supplied.

⁷ *Saluti*: p. 22 n. 4.

terror had thrown away their arms, and embraced with their hands the rocks to which they clung. And now others also assembled and beat down the enemy with javelins and with rocks which they hurled, and the whole body, rolling down headlong,¹ was dashed over the precipice. Then the tumult being calmed, the rest of the night was given to repose, as much as was possible in the agitation of their minds, since even, though past, the danger still kept them anxious. When dawn appeared the soldiers were summoned by the trumpet to a council of war before the tribunes; and, as recompense was due both to what had been done well and what had been done ill, Manlius first was commended for his valour, and received presents,² not only from the military tribunes, but also from the unanimous vote of the soldiers. They all carried to his house, which was in the citadel, half a pound of corn and a quarter of a pint of wine each; a matter trifling in the relation, but the scarcity had rendered it a great proof of affection, since everyone, robbing himself of his own food, contributed to the reward of a single man what he had withheld from his own body and necessary wants. Then the sentinels of the place where the enemy had mounted unobserved were summoned, and Quintus Sulpicius, military tribune, after declaring that he would punish all according to military usage, was deterred by the unanimous shout of the soldiers, who threw the blame on a single sentinel, and let the rest alone, but hurled down from the rock, with the approbation of all, the man who was undoubtedly guilty of that offence. Thenceforth the guards on both sides were more on the alert, both on the part of the Gauls, because it had become known that messengers passed to and fro between Veii and Rome, and on the part of the Romans, from the recollection of the peril they ran that night.

48. But above all the evils of siege and war, famine

¹ *Ruina tota prolapsa acies*: Verg. *Aen.* xi. 888, 'Pars in praecipites fossas, urgente ruina, Volvitur.' Cf. p. 97, n. 1.

² *Donatus* used absolutely: Verg. *Aen.* v. 268. *Consensu militari* = 'consentientibus militibus': p. 94, n. 4.

pressed heavily on both armies, and, on the Gauls, pestilence too, as they had their camp in a position lying between hills¹ and at the same time parched by the fires and full of vapour and sending up not only dust but ashes, whenever any breath of wind stirred. And as the nation is most impatient of such things and accustomed to moisture and cold, when annoyed by the suffocating heat² diseases spread [among them] as among cattle, and they kept on dying till at last, through weariness of burying them one by one, they used to pile up heaps of men promiscuously and burn them: and hence they rendered the place remarkable by the name of the Gallic Burning-places. A truce was afterwards made with the Romans and conversations held by permission of the commanders: in which as the Gauls repeatedly taunted them with the famine and invited them to surrender through that urgent cause, for the sake of removing that opinion bread is said to have been thrown in many places from the Capitol into the outposts of the enemy. But at length the famine could neither be concealed nor endured any longer. Accordingly, while the dictator in person is holding a levy at Ardea, ordering his master of the knights, Lucius Valerius, to bring up the army from Veii, and making preparations and arrangements whereby to attack the enemy on equal terms; in the meantime the army of the Capitol was exhausted with outpost and guard duty, and after they had in spite of all³ overcome all human evils, as nature did not suffer famine alone to be subdued; looking out day after day [to see] what aid would appear from the dictator; at last, when finally, not only food, but hope too failed them and [the weight of] their arms almost broke down their weakened bodies as the guards went round to the outposts, they insisted that they should either be surrendered or ransomed on whatever terms they could: for the Gauls frequently threw out⁴ no obscure hints

¹ *Tumulos*: the seven hills on which Rome was built.

² *Aestu et angore* = 'aestu angente': p. 92, n. 1.

³ *Tamen* with a participle: cf. Gr. καὶ φερόμενον δυνάμει.

⁴ *Lactantibus*: p. 46, n. 8.

that they could be induced by no great sum to raise the siege. Then the Senate was held and the military tribunes commissioned to make peace. Upon this the matter was settled by a conference between Quintus Sulpicius, military tribune, and Brennus, chief of the Gauls, and a thousand pounds of gold by weight was fixed as the price of a people that was soon to rule all nations. To this transaction, most shameful in itself, insult was added: unjust weights were brought by the Gauls, and when the tribune protested, a sword was thrown on to the weight by the insolent Gaul, and a saying was heard intolerable to Roman ears—'Woe to the vanquished!'

49. But both gods and men prevented the Romans from living as men that had been bought from the enemy.¹ For by some chance, before the execrable price was completed, and when all the gold had not yet been weighed out, owing to the dispute, the dictator came up, and ordered the gold to be taken out of the way and the Gauls to be removed.² On their resisting, and asserting that they had concluded the bargain, he denied that that contract was valid which, after he himself had been created dictator, had been entered into without his orders by a magistrate of inferior authority: and he gave warning to the Gauls to make themselves ready for battle. He orders his own men to pile their packs in a heap and get ready their arms, and to recover their country with steel, not gold; having before their eyes the temples of the gods, their wives and children, the soil of their country disfigured by the evils of war, and

¹ *Redemptos vivere*: a thing intolerable to Romans, who never ransomed their soldiers who were taken prisoners: xxii. 58, *seq.* Hor. *C. III.* v. 25, 'auro repensus scilicet acrior Miles redibit,' &c.

The story of Camillus breaking off the bargain and defeating the Gauls is an invention of Roman vanity: the invaders, being anxious to defend their own settlements in the north of Italy against the attacks of the Venetians, agreed to quit Rome on payment of a ransom, which was duly paid, and carried off by the Gauls. Cf. Polybius.

² *Summovet*: the word used for the dispersion of a crowd by the lictors (Hor. *C. II.* xvi. 9, 'consularis summovet lictor'), and probably applied to the Gauls in scorn.

all that it was their solemn duty to defend, to recover, and to avenge. He then draws up his line of battle, as the nature of the ground admitted, on the soil of the half-ruined city, which was, moreover, uneven by nature, and secures all those advantages which could be chosen¹ or prepared for his men by military skill. The Gauls, confused by the unexpected event, seize their arms, and rush on the Romans with rage rather than prudence. Fortune had now turned, and the aid of the gods and human wisdom now assisted the Roman cause. At the first encounter, therefore, the Gauls were routed with no more difficulty² than they had been victorious at the Alia. They were afterwards conquered under the leadership and auspices of the same Camillus in a second more regular³ battle at the eighth stone on the Gabine road, whither they had betaken themselves after the flight. There the slaughter was universal: their camp was taken, and not even one to tell the tale was left. The dictator, after having thus recovered his country from the enemy, returned in triumph to the city; and among the rough military jests⁴ which soldiers bandy about, he was saluted with no empty praise as a second Romulus, the father of his country and the second founder of the city. His country, preserved in war, he afterwards undoubtedly preserved a second time in peace, when he prevented a removal being made to Veii, though the tribunes⁵ urged the matter more earnestly after the burning of the city, and the commons also were of themselves more inclined to that proposal: and this was the cause of his not resigning the dictatorship⁶

¹ *Omnia quae secunda (i.e. opportuna) eligi poterant*: the main attribute thrown into the relative clause: cf. *infra*. 'iocos militares quos inconditos iaciunt.'

² *Momento*: i. 47, 'nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret.'

³ *Iustiore*: p. 33, n. 5.

⁴ *Jocos militares*: in the triumphal procession, when the soldiers jested freely about their general, chanting rude songs in the Saturnian metre, and bandying jokes with one another and the spectators.

⁵ *Tribunis* [plebis].

⁶ *Abdicandas dictaturas*: the usual phrase is 'abdicare se dicta-

after his triumph, as the Senate besought him not to leave the state in such an unsettled condition.

50.

First of all, as he was a most scrupulous observer of religious duties, he brought before ¹ [the Senate] what related to the immortal gods, and issues a decree of the Senate that ² all temples should be restored, their boundaries marked out, and expiation made for them, because the enemy had possessed them; and that the form of expiation should be sought by the two commissioners in the [prophetic] books ³: that a league of hospitality should be made on behalf of the state ⁴ with the people of Caere, because they had received the sacred vessels and priests of the Roman people, and by the kindness of that people the worship of the immortal gods had not been interrupted: that Capitoline games should be held, because Jupiter, best and greatest, ⁵ had protected his own abode and the citadel of the Roman people in their peril: and that Marcus Furius the dictator should form a college for that purpose of those who dwelt in the Capitol and citadel. Mention was also introduced of expiating the voice heard by night, the messenger of disaster which had been heard and neglected before the Gallic war, and a temple was ordered to be built in the New Street to Aius Locutius. ⁶ The gold which had been rescued from the Gauls, and that also from the other temples which had been brought together during the panic into the shrine of Jupiter, ⁷ since the recollec-

tura, 'not 'abdicare dictaturam: ' the latter construction, however, is sometimes found: ii. 28, 'abdicare consulatum: ' vi. 18, 'abdicando dictaturam.' ¹ *Restituit*: p. 76, n. 2.

² *S. C. facit*, [ut] *fana restituerentur*. *Terminarentur*: i. 10, 'designavit templo Iovis fines.'

³ *In libris* [Sibyllinis]: p. 43, n. 5. *Per duumviros* [sacris faciendis]: iii. 10, 'libri per duumviros sacrorum aditi:' iv. 21 (mid.), 'obsecratio [prodigiorum expiandorum causa] a populo, duumviris praeuntibus' (p. 94, n. 2) 'est facta.'

⁴ *Hospitium publice fieret*: p. 71, nn. 5 and 6.

⁵ *Juppiter Optimus Maximus*: i.e. Jupiter Capitolinus: p. 91, n. 4.

⁶ *Aio Locutio*: ch. 32 (mid.). Cic. *De Div.* ii. 32, 'audita vox est monentis ut providerent ne a Gallis Roma caperetur: ex eo Aio Loquenti aram in Nova via consecratam.' Plut. *Camill.* 30, *ἡμεῖς καὶ Κληδόνος*.

⁷ *Iovis ocellam*: in the Capitol: p. 91, n. 4: cf. i. 55.

tion of where it ought to be returned was confused, was all adjudged sacred and ordered to be placed under the throne of Jupiter. The religious feelings of the State had already been shown in this, that when gold was lacking in the treasury¹ to make up the sum of the ransom agreed on with the Gauls, they had accepted [a quantity] contributed by the matrons, so that the sacred gold might not be touched. Thanks were returned to the matrons, and this honour was given them besides, that a formal panegyric² should be [pronounced] on them after death, just as it was on men. After the transaction of these matters which related to the gods and which could be managed by the Senate,³ then, at length, as the tribunes were exciting the commons with continual harangues to leave the ruins and remove to Veii, to a city ready prepared for them, [Camillus] mounts the tribunal⁴ to address the people, attended by⁵ the whole Senate, and thus speaks:—

‘So unpleasant to me, citizens of Rome, are contentions with the tribunes of the commons, that as long as I lived at Ardea the only consolation I had of my most melancholy exile was that I was far from these contests; and for this same reason I never intended to return, though you recalled me a thousand times by decree of the Senate and order of the people. Nor is it any change in my own wishes but in⁶ your fortunes that has now induced me to return; since the matter in question⁷ was that my country should remain in its settled place, not that⁸ I more than anyone else should live in my country. And now also I would gladly keep quiet⁹ and silent, were not this⁹ strife too in behalf of

51.

¹ *In publico* = ‘in aerario:’ iv. 10, ‘bonis eorum in publicum Ardeatium redactis.’ Cf. ‘in publicum redigere,’ p. 49, n. 2.

² *Solennis laudatio*: ii. 47 (*sub fin.*) ‘laudator.’ Cic. *De Sen.* iv. 12.

³ *Per senatum agi*: the magistrates were the executive, the Senate the deliberative, part of the Government.

⁴ *In concionem ascendit*: p. 17, n. 5. Camillus ascended the rostrum in order to address the people.

⁵ *Prosequens*: p. 71, n. 4.

⁶ *Mutata* may go both with *voluntas* and *fortuna*.

⁷ *Id agebatur*: ‘il s’agissait.’ *Utique*: p. 63, n. 3, and 91, n. 7.

⁸ *Tacerem libenter*: Gr. ἡδύως ἢ σιωπῆσαιμι.

⁹ *Hæc*: &c. with the tribunes.

my country, and to fail her, so long as life lasts,¹ is base in others, in Camillus it is even a crime. For why when she was besieged have we recovered her, why have we snatched her from the hands of the enemy, if we ourselves abandon her when recovered? And whereas, when the Gauls were victorious and the whole city was captured, the gods and men of Rome still held and dwelt in the Capitol and the citadel, shall the citadel too and the Capitol be deserted now that the Romans are victors and the city won back, and shall our prosperous fortune cause more desolation in this city than our adversity did? For my part, if we had no religious institutions founded together with the city and transmitted to us from hand to hand,² nevertheless so manifest a display of divine power³ has at this crisis aided the fortunes of Rome that I should think all neglect of divine worship was banished from among men. For look on the events, either prosperous or adverse, of the last few years in succession; you will find that everything turned out favourably for us when we followed the gods, adversely when we despised them. Now, first of all, the Veientian war—waged for how many years and with what immense labour—did not come to an end until by the warning of the gods the water was discharged from the Alban lake. What, pray, [need I say of] this recent disaster of our city? Did it arise until the voice sent from heaven concerning the approach of the Gauls was despised; until the law of nations was violated by our ambassadors: and until, through the same neglect of the gods, this violation was passed over by us, when it ought to have been punished? Accordingly, vanquished and enslaved and purchased back, we have paid to gods and men such a penalty that we may be a warning⁴ to the whole earth. Then our adversity reminded us of our religious duties.

¹ *Suppetat*: p. 68, n. 4.

² *Traditae per manus*: 'regnum per manus tradidit,' i. 3 (*i.e.* without any interruption).

³ *Numen*: poetically used. *Adfuit*: p. 33, n. 3.

⁴ *Documento*: lit. 'a thing to teach' (*docere*).

We fled for refuge into the Capitol to the gods, to the abode of Jupiter, the best and the greatest; in the ruin of our fortunes, some of our sacred vessels we hid in the ground, others we carried away to neighbouring cities and removed from the eyes of our enemies; still, though deserted by gods and men, we did not intermit the worship of our gods. Therefore have they given us back our country and victory and our ancient renown in war that we had lost; and on our enemies, who, blinded by avarice, cheated their covenant and their faith in the weight of the gold, they have turned terror and flight and slaughter.

‘Observing the influence of the worship and of the neglect of the deity to be so great as this in human affairs, do you at all feel, O citizens of Rome, how great a wickedness we are preparing, scarcely emerging as we are from the shipwreck of our former fault and calamity? We have a city that was founded under auspices, and with solemn inauguration: ¹ there is not a spot in it that is not full of religious veneration and of the gods; for our sacrifices fixed by sacred custom, the days are not more definitely stated ² than the places in which they are to be held. Are ye about, O citizens of Rome, to desert all these national and private gods? How like is your conduct to that which lately in the blockade was viewed with no less admiration on the part of the enemy than on yours in that excellent young man Gaius Fabius, when through the midst of the Gallic weapons he descended from the citadel, and discharged on the Quirinal hill the solemn anniversary rite of the Fabian clan! Is it your pleasure that the religious ceremonies of a clan be not omitted even in time of war, but that the national ceremonies and the gods of Rome be deserted even in peace, and that the priests and flamens be more careless of national religious duties than a private man would be in the anniversary rite of a clan? Perhaps some one may say that we will either

52.

¹ *Auspicio inauguratoque*: impersonal participles, abl. abs. - p. 45, n. 5.

² *Dies stat*: p. 101, n. 1.

perform these duties at Veii or will send our priests hither from there to perform them; but neither of these can be done without violating the ceremonial forms. And, not to go through all our sacred rites class by class and all our gods, can the sacred couch in the feast of Jove¹ be prepared anywhere else than in the Capitol? What shall I say of the eternal fires of Vesta and the statue,² the pledge of empire, which is kept under the safeguard of her temple? What of your shields,³ O Mars Gradivus, and thou, father Quirinus?⁴ Is it your pleasure that all these sacred things, of equal age with the city, some of them more ancient than the city's foundation, should be abandoned to profanation? And look what a difference there is between us and our ancestors! They have handed down to us certain ceremonies to be performed on the Alban mount⁵ and at Lavinium. Was it contrary to religion that ceremonies should be transferred from cities of our enemies to us at Rome, and yet shall we transfer them from hence to Veii, an enemy's city, without pollution? Remember, I pray you, how often ceremonies are begun anew because through carelessness or accident something has been omitted from the ritual of our ancestors.⁶ What, after the prodigy of the Alban lake, lately proved a

¹ *Epuum* in the sing. a religious feast. *Pulvinar*: Hor. C. I. xxxvii. 3.

² *Signo*: the *Palladium* or statue of Pallas Athene, brought from Troy by Aeneas, the mythical ancestor of the Romans. Cic. *Phil.* xi. 10, 24, 'id signum quod de caelo delapsum Vestae custodiis continetur: quo salvo salvi sumus futuri.'

³ *Ancilibus*: a shield (*ancile*) is said to have fallen from heaven in the reign of Numa Pompilius, and to have been consecrated by him to Mars and placed under the care of twelve priests called *Salii*: i. 20. Eleven other shields were made exactly like it, so that the real one might not be known and stolen.

⁴ The Romans had two War-Gods, Mars Gradivus (He of the Martial Stride) and Romulus his son, deified under the name of Quirinus, who shared his honours. Cf. p. 91, n. 2.

⁵ *In monte Albano*: the great Latin festival: see p. 50, n. 3, and the Introduction. *Lavinii*: i. 14: praetors, consuls, and dictators are said to have sacrificed there to the Di Penates before entering on office. It was one of the most ancient towns in Latium, said, indeed, to have been founded by Aeneas on his landing: i. 1. Verg. *Aen.* xii. 194.

⁶ *Ex patrio ritu*: p. 94, n. 2.

remedy to the state, weakened as it was by the Veientian war, but the fresh performance of the sacred rites and the renewal of the auspices? But again, as though¹ duly mindful of our old religious feelings, we have both transferred foreign gods to Rome and have set up fresh ones. Queen Juno was lately transported from Veii, and on a day how distinguished for the extraordinary zeal of the matrons, and how universally celebrated,² was her dedication³ lately performed on the Aventine! We have ordered a temple to be built in the New Street to Aius Locutius, on account of the heavenly voice that was heard there; we have added Capitoline games to our other solemn anniversaries, and by direction of the Senate we have founded a new college for that purpose. Which of these was it worth while to have undertaken if we intended to leave the Roman city together with the Gauls, if it was not by our will that we remained in the Capitol for so many months⁴ of siege, but we were kept there by fear of the enemy? I speak of the sacred rites and of the temples. What, in the name of heaven! does it not occur to your minds how great a pollution would be contracted with regard to the priests? The Vestal virgins, as everyone knows, have that one abode whence nothing except the capture of the city has ever moved them; it is an act of impiety for the flamen Dialis⁵ to remain a single night outside the city. Are you going to make them Veientian instead of Roman priests, and shall thy Vestals desert thee, O Vesta, and shall the flamen, by living abroad, draw on himself and on the commonwealth such deadly pollution night after

¹ *Tanquam*: if they deserted Rome they would prove that they did not *really* care for religion.

² *Celebri*: honoured by a large concourse of worshippers. Hor. *C. II. xii. 20*, 'Dianae celebris die:' *i.e.* on the day when her temple is crowded.

³ *Juno dedicata*: Hor. *C. I. xxxi. 1*, 'quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem Vates?'

⁴ *Per tot menses*: seven, acc. to Plutarch, *Camill. 30*.

⁵ *Flamini Dialis*: p. 91, n. 2. In the reign of Augustus permission was granted 'quotiens valetudo adversa flaminem Dialem incessisset, ut pontificis maximi arbitrio plus quam binotium abesset, dum ne diebus publici sacrificii neu saepius quam bis in eundem annum' (Tac. *Ann. iii. 71*).

night? What [shall I say of] other things, almost all of which we perform within the Pomoerium¹ after the auspices have been taken? To what oblivion or to what neglect are we consigning them? The assemblies of the curiae, to whose province military affairs belong;² the assemblies of the centuries, at which you elect consuls and military tribunes; where can they be held under proper auspices, unless where³ they are wont [to be held]? Shall we transfer them to Veii? or shall the whole people assemble for the sake of the elections at such great inconvenience into this city deserted by gods and men?

53. 'But, it may be said,⁴ it is clear enough, indeed, that all would be polluted, and could not be purged by any expiations: but the very circumstances of the case compel us to leave a city desolated⁵ by fire and ruin, and remove to Veii where everything is untouched, and not harass the poverty-stricken commons by building here. But that this cause is rather thrown out [as a pretext] than that it is the true one, I suppose, even without⁶ my telling you, is clear enough to you, citizens of Rome, who remember that before the coming of the Gauls, while our public and private buildings were untouched and the city stood safe and sound, this very

¹ *Pomoerium*: (from *post*, *murus*:) not an actual but a symbolical wall: the furrow thrown up on tracing the site of the city. Acc. to Livy (i. 44) it was an open space on each side of the wall, 'quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat: 'non magis quod post murum esset quam quod murus post id, *pomoerium* Romani appellarunt.' The 'pomoerium' or limits of the city could only be extended by those who had increased the territory of the state: as Sulla, Caesar and Augustus.

² The *comitia curiata* alone possessed the right of conferring military authority (*imperium*): ix. 38.

³ *Ubi*: the 'comitia centuriata' were held in the Campus Martius (vi. 20): the 'comitia curiata' in the Poeteline Grove.

⁴ *At enim . . . expiari posse*: this first sentence, which is omitted in some editions, is the objection of a supposed adversary: *at enim* is often used to introduce such an imaginary argument.

⁵ *Vastam* = 'vastatam.'

⁶ *Ut* = 'quamvis': 'etiam si.' ii. 38: 'ut omnia obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam,' &c. (i.e. even supposing that we could forget): *ib.* 40, 'nec ut sim miserrima, diu futura sum:' xxii. 25, 'ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere.'

same business of our removing to Veii was discussed. And see, tribunes, how great a difference there is between my views and yours. You think that though it may not have been right to do it then, it ought undoubtedly¹ to be done now: I, on the contrary—do not marvel at this till you have heard what kind of a thing it is [that I say]—even if it had been right to remove then, while the whole city was in safety, would not vote now for the abandonment of these ruins. For then the cause of our migrating to a captured city would have been victory, a cause glorious to us and to our posterity: *now*, this removal would be to us miserable and base, but glorious to the Gauls. For we shall not seem to have left our country as victors, but to have lost it as vanquished: the flight at the Alia, the capture of the city, the siege of the Capitol, [will be thought] to have imposed on us this hard necessity² of leaving our household gods and resolving on exile and flight from the place we were not able to defend. And have Gauls been able to overthrow Rome, and shall Romans be thought not to have been able to restore it? What remains but that, if they should now come with new forces (for it is admitted that their numbers are scarcely credible), and wish to dwell in this city that has been captured by them and deserted by you, you should allow them to do so? What! if not the Gauls but your old enemies the Aequans or Volscians should do this, [I mean] should migrate to Rome, would you be willing that they should be Romans and you Veientians? or would you prefer that this [place] should be a wilderness³ of your own rather than a city of the enemy? For my part I do not see what would be more impious. Are ye ready to incur this guilt and shame because you think it irksome to build? If in the whole city there could be erected no dwelling better or ampler than is that cottage⁴ of

¹ *Utique*: p. 63, n. 3. *Censerem*: p. 33, n. 4.

² *Hoc necessitatis*: p. 18, n. 4.

³ *Hanc solitudinem esse* = 'hoc esse s.' Cf. Verg. *Aen.* iv. 347, 'hic amor, haec patria est'; vi. 129, 'hoc opus, hic labor est'; xi. 739, 'hic amor, hoc studium.' Attraction of gender: cf. p. 31, n. 5.

⁴ *Casa*: the shepherd's hut of Romulus on the Palatine Hill, preserved till the time of Nero.

our founder, is it not better to dwell in cottages like ¹ shepherds and rustics, amid your sacred things and your household gods, than as a whole nation to go into exile? Our ancestors, strangers and shepherds, when there was nothing in these places except woods and marshes, built a new city in so short a time [as ye know]: do we, while the Capitol and the citadel are unharmed and the temples of the gods standing, murmur at having to build the parts that are burnt? And shall we as a body refuse to do in the case of a general conflagration that which we should have done individually if our own house had been burned down?

54.

‘What, let me ask, if by treason or accident a fire should break out at Veii and the flames, scattered by the wind (as may happen), should consume a great part of the city, are we then to seek Fidenæ or Gabii or some ² other city whither we may remove? Is the soil of our country so utterly without a hold upon us, or this land which we call mother; but does our love of country depend merely on buildings ³ and on timber? For my part I will acknowledge to you, although I like to remember it less as a wrong done by you than as my own misfortune,⁴ when I was far away, so often as my country came into my mind all these things, too, occurred to me: ⁵ the hills and the plains, and the Tiber, and the country so familiar to my eyes, and the sky beneath which I was born and reared: may they now move you, citizens of Rome, by their dearness, to remain in your home, rather than torture you with longing ⁶ for them hereafter, when you have abandoned it. Not without a cause have gods and men chosen this as the place for

¹ *Ritu*: p. 99, n. 2.

² *Quam urbem*: for ‘aliquam,’ after ‘ve.’

³ *Superficie*: ‘quidquid super terram exstat:’ plants, trees, and (here) houses. Cic. *Ad Attic.* IV. i. 7, ‘aream praeclaram habebimus, superficiem consules ex senatus consulto aestimabunt.’

⁴ *Minus iniuriæ vestrae quam meae calamitatis meminisse iuvat*: more simply, ‘though I am even more unwilling to remember the wrong you did me than my own misfortune.’

⁵ *Occurrebant* [mihi]. *Colles*: the seven hills, the names of which are variously given.

⁶ *Desiderio*: regret for what is lost: p. 36, n. 4.

founding a city; these healthful hills, the river ready to hand,¹ by which the produce of the soil may be conveyed down from the inland districts, and by which supplies from the sea may be received; the sea close enough for convenience,² but not exposed by too close proximity to danger from foreign fleets; a situation in the very midst of Italy. The very magnitude of so new a city is a proof that the position is one singularly adapted to the growth of a city. The three hundred and sixty-fifth year of the city, citizens of Rome, is passing over us: for so long a time have you been waging war amid so many ancient nations, while in the meantime (not to mention single cities), neither the Volscians united with the Aequans, so many and such powerful towns, nor the whole of Etruria, so mighty by land and sea, and occupying the breadth of Italy between the two seas,³ is a match for you in war. And, since this is so, what reason on earth⁴ is there for you who have tried these⁵ [advantages] to make trial of others, since even though⁶ your valour may be able to remove elsewhere, the fortune of this place assuredly cannot be transferred? Here is the Capitol, where of old a human head was found,⁷ and the response given [by the oracles on the matter] was that in this place should be the head

¹ *Flumen opportunum*: the great advantage of Rome over the other Latin cities, the sites of which were in general superior to hers both in healthiness and fertility. The Tiber, besides being the great bulwark of the Latins against Etruria, was also the natural highway for the traffic of Latium: and from the city to the sea the river was completely in the hands of the Romans.

² *Vicinum ad commoditates*: 'ad commoda opportune ex navigatione capienda.'—Doering.

³ See ch. 33, and Introduction.

⁴ *Malum*: an expletive like the French 'Peste!' or English 'What the plague!'

⁵ *Expertis*: cf. 'experto crede.' Drakenborch thinks it is passive: 'to try other places than those already tried:'. cf. i. 17, 'libertatis dulcedine nondum experta:'. *ib.* 34, 'per omnia expertus:'. iii. 2, 'expertam clementiam.' *Alia* in this case = 'alia ab:'. cf. Hor. *Epp.* I. xvi. 20, 'neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum.' Cic. *Ad Famil.* xi. 2, 'nec quicquam aliud libertate communi quasisse.'

⁶ *Ut*: p. 114, n. 6.

⁷ *Capite humano invento*: i. 55, mid.

of the world, and the chief seat of empire; here, when the Capitol was cleared after the auguries had been duly taken, Juventas and Terminus, to the exceeding joy of your fathers, suffered not themselves to be moved; here are the fires of Vesta, and here the shields sent down from heaven,¹ here are all the gods so propitious to you if you stay.'

55.

Camillus is said to have influenced them as well with the rest of his speech as especially with that part which related to religious matters: but a phrase seasonably let fall decided the question while it was still doubtful: for while the Senate was being held a little afterwards in the Hostilian Senate-house² [to consult] on these matters, and some cohorts returning from guard duty happened to be passing through the forum, in marching order, a centurion cried out in the Comitium³—'Standard-bearer, fix your standard: ⁴ it will be best for us to remain here.' When this saying was heard, the Senate, coming out of the Senate-house, cried out, altogether, that they accepted the omen; and the commons also who had gathered round testified their approval. The [proposed] law was then rejected,⁵ and the city begun to be built without any regular order. Tiles were furnished at the public expense, the right of hewing stone and timber⁶ wherever he liked was granted to every man, security only being taken that they would finish the buildings that year. Haste took away all attention to the proper tracing of streets, while, setting aside all distinction of their own or other men's ground, they built on any vacant space. This is the cause why the old sewers,

¹ *Vestae ignes, ancilia coelo demissa*: p. 112, n. 3. 'Lapsa ancilia coelo,' Verg. *Aen.* viii. 664.

'Hail to the fire that burns for aye,
And the shield that fell from heaven.'

Macaulay.

² *Curia Hostilia*: i. 30, 'templum ordini [senatorio] ab se aucto curiam fecit [Tullus Hostilius], quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est.'

³ *Comitium*: p. 30, n. 2.

⁴ *Signum*: i.e. the eagle.

⁵ *Antiquata*: p. 76, n. 1.

⁶ *Materiae* = 'ligni,' just as Gr. *δλη* = 'material.'

which were at first conducted through the public street,¹ now in many places pass under private houses; and why the form of the city resembles rather one taken possession of at random than one regularly portioned out.

APPENDIX.

THE CELTS.

THE first great immigration of the Indo-European race into Europe was that of the Celts. They passed through the centre of the continent without forming any important settlements, and took up their abode in what is now France. From thence they crossed over to Britain and Ireland, and also, by way of the Pyrenees, into Spain. In course of time, either because their numbers had increased so largely that Gaul was too small to contain them, or else simply impelled by their natural love of roving about in search of adventure and plunder, they commenced a retrograde movement, partly retracing their steps into Germany, which they had passed through in their former journeying, partly turning southwards into the smiling plains of Italy. Here they settled in great numbers in the northern provinces, which received the name of Gallia Cisalpina; and their predatory excursions reached far south, even, it is said—though it seems hard to believe the statement—into Sicily. Central Italy does not appear to have been safe from their attacks till the great development of the Roman military power after the Samnite War, when Rome was looked up to by all the peninsula as the bulwark against the inroads of the barbarians.

There were two main divisions of the Celtic race: one called the Cymry or Cimbri, corresponding to the Cimmerii of Herodotus: the other, Gaels or Galli

¹ *Per publicum* [locum]: xxiv. 16, 'in publico epularentur omnes:' xxvi. 13, 'in publicum omnes vi extracturos esse.' Cf. ii. 24, 'proripientium se ex privato.'

(Γαλάται). Three of the most powerful tribes settled south of the Po, viz. the Boii, the Lingones, and the Senones: the latter, whose permanent home was in Umbria, were those who besieged Clusium and Rome.

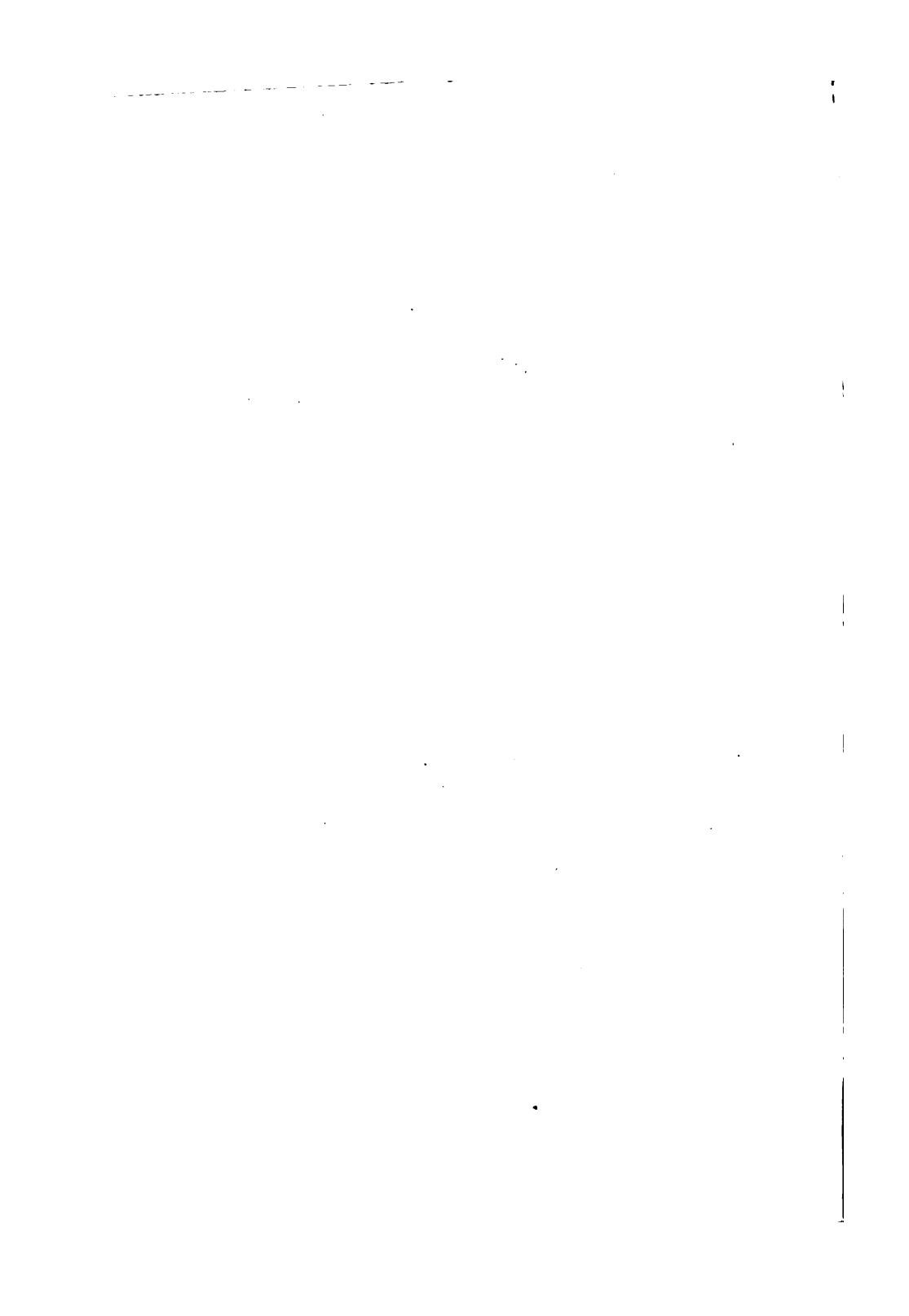
The date of this migration of the Gauls into Italy cannot be accurately determined. It probably spread over a considerable number of years; but the main body of the invaders cannot have penetrated far into Italy before the decay of the Etruscan power, which began in the latter part of the third century of Rome. Thus the migration of Bellovesus cannot be historically connected with the founding of Marseilles by the Phocaeans from Ionia, which took place in the middle of the *second* century A.U.C. (about B.C. 600).

Neither is it easy to say by what route the Celtic hordes crossed the Alps into Italy. Only two passes leading into Gaul were known to the Romans; that by Mont Genève, over the Cottian Alps and through the land of the Taurini; and that over the Graian Alps, the well-known Little St. Bernard, by which Hannibal and Napoleon invaded Italy. Mont Cenis, the route most used at the present day, which lies between the two mentioned, does not appear to have been used till the middle ages. On the whole, the Little St. Bernard seems the most likely.

The Celts were chiefly a pastoral race, having but little taste for the drudgery of agriculture, or, indeed, for manual labour of any kind. Their trade was war, and their migratory and pugnacious habits carried them at different times all over Europe, from Ireland to Hungary, and even across the Bosphorus into Asia Minor. 'The prominent qualities of the Celtic race,' says their historian, Thierry, 'were personal bravery, in which they excelled all nations; an open impetuous temperament, accessible to every impression; much intelligence, but at the same time an extreme volatility, want of perseverance, aversion to discipline and order, ostentation, and perpetual discord—the result of boundless vanity.' These, as Mommsen remarks, are the qualities of good soldiers but bad citizens, and explain

the historical fact that the Celts have shaken all states and have founded none.

In battle they wore no helmets, and used no missile weapons of any kind and very little defensive armour; they carried an immense shield, a long and heavy sword of some inferior metal, probably bronze, a lance and a dagger, all ornamented with gold; they usually fought on foot, but certain tribes on horseback; they also possessed many war-chariots. It was their custom on entering battle to endeavour to strike terror into the enemy by horrible shouts and yells, clashing their weapons against their shields and challenging their opponents to single combat in sight of the two armies.



SUMMARY OF BOOK VI.

AFTER the capture of Rome by the Gauls, in which nearly all the early records of the city perished, the narrative of her exploits becomes much more trustworthy and more deserving to be received as authentic history than it had before been. The rebuilding of the ruined city was vigorously proceeded with; and, deeply impressed by their late sufferings, the people turned their attention to removing the guilt which had caused them. Quintus Fabius, who had broken the law of nations by fighting against the people to whom he had been sent as an ambassador, was indicted, and only escaped by a timely death. Such of the ancient laws and ordinances as had escaped the flames were collected and published, care, however, being taken that the people should not be emancipated from priestly control by being admitted to a knowledge of religious rites and seasons. The day on which the army had been so utterly beaten by the Gauls, which was also the anniversary of the heroic death of the Fabii, was reckoned as a day accursed, on which it was unlawful to transact business of any kind. But more important matters soon demanded the whole care of the state. Taking advantage of the sore straits to which the Romans were reduced, their inveterate enemies the Volscians and the Etruscans declared war, and even their old allies the Latins and Hernicans shook off the allegiance they had so long and faithfully maintained. For the third time Camillus was made dictator. In a short and vigorous campaign he crushed the Volscians and Aequans, and then turned to Etruria, where Sutrium, a city allied to Rome, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. On the very day of its capture he retook the city by a sudden and unexpected attack, and then returned to Rome in triumph.

Those Etruscans who had taken the Roman side in the war were admitted to citizenship, and the citizens who had removed to Veii were peremptorily recalled. While the

A.U.C.
365.
B.C. 339.

A.U.C.
366.
B.C. 388.

building of the city still continued, time was also found for carrying on the war in Etruria, and Cortuosa and Contenebra were taken by storm.

A.U.C.
367.
B.C. 387.

At home, four new tribes were added to the roll, raising the total to twenty-five. The tribunes of the commons brought forward a bill for distributing among the citizens the Pomptine territory, which had long been claimed by Rome, though owing to the constant inroads of the Volscians, in whose country it was situated, it had hitherto been of little value to them. Now, however, that the Volscian power was broken, the land was demanded by the people; but a fresh war, as usual, distracted their attention from the subject. Etruria was still in arms, and Antium, supported by volunteers from the Latin states, now joined the enemies of Rome. Camillus was one of the military tribunes of the year, and, by the unanimous consent of his colleagues and the full approval of the Senate, the supreme command was placed in his hands.

A.U.C.
368.
B.C. 386.

At Satricum, where he met the united forces of the Antians, Latins, Hernicans, and Volscians, he gained a decisive victory over vastly superior numbers, mainly owing to his own exertions and courage. Satricum was taken by storm: but the Romans were prevented from advancing on Antium by tidings that Nepete and Sutrium, friendly Etruscan cities, were hard pressed by the enemy. Thither accordingly Camillus hastened. Sutrium, already half in the possession of the enemy, was recaptured, and the Etruscans routed with great slaughter; and Nepete, which had given itself up to the enemy, was stormed. Satisfaction was demanded from the Latins and Hernicans for the share they had taken in the war, but in vain. The struggle still continued next year, and Cornelius Cossus was named dictator, partly on that account, and partly because of the serious discontent that was growing up at home. The allies, who had been joined by troops from Circeii and Velitrae, were defeated with great loss; and the dictator returned to Rome to meet the disturbance there.

A.U.C.
369.
B.C. 385.

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, the defender of the Capitol against the Gauls and one of the most distinguished of the patricians, instigated, it is said, by jealousy of the reputation of Camillus, had taken up the cause of the commons against his own order. The cruel laws of debt pressed on the poorer classes with terrible severity at this time, for

they had been compelled to rebuild their houses at their own expense, which they could only do by borrowing at usurious interest. Manlius, seeing a brave centurion dragged to prison, was moved with compassion and indignation, and paid the debt upon the spot, and sold his estate, declaring that so long as he had money no Roman citizen should be imprisoned for debt. This gained for him great popularity; and, in order to increase it, he asserted that the gold which had been contributed to ransom the city from the Gauls was appropriated by the patricians, instead of being devoted to the service of the state and the release of the poorer citizens from debt. He was summoned before the dictator and challenged to prove this statement, and when he refused or was unable to do so, but replied by reproaching the patricians with their avarice and rapacity, he was thrown into prison, appealing to the gods of the Capitol, whose temples he had saved from the Gaul. Great though their anger was, the commons dared not resist the authority of the dictator, but showed their sympathy with Manlius by putting on mourning for him. The Senate in vain endeavoured by sending a colony to Satricum to appease the disaffection, which, especially after the resignation of the dictator, assumed such threatening proportions that at length the Senate was forced to release Manlius, who now came forward as the leader of the commons, and incited them against the patricians, holding meetings in his house and delivering seditious speeches. For this he was brought to trial by the consular and plebeian tribunes, on the charge of aiming at regal power: but when he appealed to the gods whom he had saved from the enemy for protection, and recounted the long and glorious list of his military distinctions and brought forward several hundreds of citizens whom he had released from imprisonment at his own expense, his accusers, seeing that a conviction by men who had before their eyes the Capitol, the scene of his glory, would be impossible, broke up the assembly and summoned him to appear in the Poeteline Grove outside Rome, whence that silent witness was not visible. There he was condemned, and hurled from the Tarpeian Rock. It was decreed that none of the Manlian family should thenceforth bear the name of the condemned, and that no patrician should be allowed to dwell in the Capitol, where the house of Manlius had been.

A.U.C.
370.
B.C. 384.

New enemies constantly sprang up abroad: Velitrae, a

A.U.C. 372. Roman colony, was in arms against the mother-city, and
 B.C. 382. Praeneste also declared war. Satricum, a Roman colony,
 A.U.C. 373. was lost, but Camillus, old as he was, was appointed mili-
 B.C. 381. tary tribune for the seventh time, and, retrieving the rash-
 ness of his colleague by his own boldness and skill, he
 defeated the enemy. Finding among the prisoners a num-
 ber of Tusculans, who had been sent into the field by their
 government, he reported the matter to the Senate, and
 was despatched to Tusculum with an army. The Tusculans,
 who were old allies of Rome, made no attempt at resistance,
 and succeeded in appeasing the anger of the Senate by their
 submissive conduct: shortly afterwards they were even ad-
 mitted to citizenship.

A.U.C. 374. While the tribunes of the commons strove against the
 B.C. 380. cruel oppression of the poor debtors by their creditors, and
 forbade imprisonment for debt, refusing to allow any en-
 listment of troops until the law was reformed, the Prae-
 nestines, availing themselves of the internal dissensions of
 the city, invaded the Roman territory and advanced close
 up to the Colline gate. The commons were obliged to give
 way, and Quintius Cincinnatus was made dictator.
 Utterly defeated on the Alia, the Praenestines fled to their
 own city; but Cincinnatus pursued, and took by storm
 eight subject towns of Praeneste, as well as Velitrae, forced
 Praeneste itself to capitulate, and carried from thence the
 statue of Jupiter Imperator, which he dedicated in the
 Capitol.

A.U.C. 377. The war still continued, the Romans being almost
 B.C. 377. always successful; but at length the Antians surrendered,
 and the Latins, exasperated by their defection, burnt
 Satricum on their return march, and then, by a sudden
 attack, got possession of all Tusculum except the citadel;
 but their army was promptly destroyed by the Romans,
 who speedily came to the rescue.

In the meantime the burden of debt at home became
 intolerable; and besides bringing forward regulations more
 directly affecting the distribution of property, the champions
 of the commons now demanded that the consulate should
 no longer be restricted to the patricians; convinced that so
 long as supreme political power was in the hands of the
 moneyed class, there was little hope of reform in the law of
 debt. Gaius Licinius Stolo and Lucius Sextius were
 elected tribunes of the commons in the year of Rome 378,
 A.U.C. 378. and proposed (1) that all interest already paid on debts
 B.C. 376.

should be deducted from the principal, and the remainder paid off in three annual instalments; (2) that no one should possess more than 500 *iugera* of public land; (3) that not military tribunes but consuls should be elected for the future, and that one at least of them should be a plebeian.

The patricians had recourse to their usual tactics to defeat these laws. They prevailed upon the colleagues of Licinius and Sextius to veto their proposals. But the two reformers were not to be daunted; finding it impossible to pass their own bills, they retaliated by vetoing the election of any curule magistrates, so that for five years the only magistrates in Rome were the plebeian aediles and tribunes. In the sixth year military tribunes were allowed to be elected in order to defend Tusculum against the people of Velitrae. In the eighth year, so far from relaxing in their demands, Licinius and Sextius, now supported by Marcus Fabius Ambustus, father-in-law of the former, and by three of their colleagues, proposed that ten religious commissioners instead of two should be appointed, five of them to be plebeians. As the laws were urged more vehemently than ever, the patricians made their veteran leader Camillus dictator; but great as was his reputation, even he was unable to resist the determination of the tribunes, and it is said that they caused a law to be passed that, if Marcus Furius did anything as dictator, he should be fined 500,000 *asses*; at any rate he resigned without accomplishing his object. In the ninth year the people passed the laws relating to the interest and the land, but not that which opened the consulate to plebeians. This compromise, however, was firmly rejected by the tribunes, who declared that their laws should be passed altogether or not at all. A bitter and eloquent speech from Appius Claudius, the hereditary enemy of the commons, succeeded in delaying for a short time the victory of the tribunes; but, re-elected for the tenth time, they carried the law relating to the sacred commissioners. Camillus, fifth time dictator, encountered the Gauls in the territory of Alba, and gained an easy and decisive victory. Before he laid down his dictatorship the Licinian Rogations were carried, and Lucius Sextius was elected the first plebeian consul. The patricians at first refused to consent; but the commons were resolute, and by the intervention of the dictator the election was allowed to be valid, but the judicial functions were

A.U.C.
384.
B.C. 370.
A.U.C.
386.
B.C. 368.

A.U.C.
387.
B.C. 367.

A.U.C.
388.
B.C. 366.

separated from the consulate and conferred on a new magistrate called a praetor, elected from the patricians.

Solemn festivals were held as a thanksgiving for the reconciliation of the orders, and not without cause; for from this time forwards the Roman people were one and indivisible.

BOOK VI.

I HAVE related in five books the deeds of the Romans from the foundation of the city of Rome to the capture of the same city, first under their kings, then under consuls, and dictators, and decemvirs, and consular tribunes; their wars abroad and their dissensions at home: matters obscure as well from their excessive antiquity, like objects which, from their great distance, are scarcely visible, as also because, in those times we are speaking of, written documents,¹ the only trustworthy safeguard of the memory of events, were scanty and rare, and because, even if there were any such in the commentaries of the priests,² and other public and private records, most of them perished when the city was burnt. From this time forward, from the second origin of the city, which sprang up again more luxuriantly and fruitfully, as if from its roots, its achievements, both at home and in the field, shall be related more clearly and authentically. But at first it stood leaning on the same prop, Marcus Furius, its chief citizen, by which it had been raised, nor did they suffer him to resign his dictatorship until the end of the year.³ It was not desired that those tribunes in whose magistracy the city had been captured should hold the elections for the ensuing year. Matters came to an interregnum. While the state was kept occupied with the

1.

¹ *Litterae*: xxv. 1, 'libros omnes litterasque.' Caes. *B.G.* VI. xiv. 4, 'praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant.'

² *Commentariis pontificum*: see Introduction, last section.

³ *Anno circumacto*: it was very unusual for a dictator to hold office so long: see Introduction.

task and continual labour of rebuilding the city, in the meantime a day of trial was appointed for Quintus Fabius, as soon as ever he went out of office, by Gnaeus Marcius, tribune of the commons, because, contrary to the law of nations, he had fought against the Gauls, to whom he had been sent as an ambassador.¹ From this trial so timely a death removed him that a great many believed it to be voluntary. The interregnum was entered on; Publius Cornelius Scipio was interrex, and after him Marcus Furius Camillus. He appoints as military tribunes, with consular power, Lucius Valerius Publicola for the second time, Lucius Verginius, Publius Cornelius, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Aemilius, and Lucius Postumius. These, having entered on their office immediately after the interregnum, consulted the Senate on nothing until they had on religious matters. In the first place, they ordered that the treaties and laws which were in existence should be searched out (now these were the twelve tables² and some of the laws of the kings). Some of these were even published to the people; but those which related to religious ceremonies were suppressed,³ chiefly by the priests, that they might keep the minds of the people bound down by religious observances. Then the question of desecrated days began to be discussed, and the fifteenth day before the calends of August,⁴ noted for a double disaster (the day on which the Fabii were slain⁵ at Cremera, and on which subsequently the shameful battle on the Alia, [that was attended] with the destruction of the city, was fought) they called the Alian day, from the later disaster, and made it remarkable for transacting no business either

¹ *Orator*: p. 46, n. 3.

² *Duodecim tabulae*: containing the code of laws drawn up by the decemvirs; the first written body of Roman law, for the detached and fragmentary *leges regiae* relate chiefly to religious matters. Very few fragments of either are now extant.

³ *Suppressa*: in order that all ceremonies and days for transacting public business of any kind might be wholly in the hands of the priests, i.e. members of the patrician body. *Alia* (neut.) = 'alia capita.'

⁴ *A. d. xv. Kal. Sextiles*: p. 33, n. 6. It would be July 18.

⁵ *Fabii caesi*: ii. 48-50.

publicly or privately. Some think that because Sulpicius, the military tribune, had not obtained favourable omens on the day after the ides of July, and because, without having gained the favour of the gods, the Roman army had been exposed to the enemy the third day after, it was ordered that religious matters should be suspended on the day following the ides also, and from this [the custom] was handed down, that the same observance should also hold on the days following the calends and the nones.

Nor were they long allowed quietly to discuss plans among themselves of raising the state after so heavy a fall. On one side their old enemies, the Volscians, had taken up arms to extinguish the Roman name; on the other, some merchants brought word that a warlike conspiracy had been made at the temple of Voltumna by the chief men from all the states of Etruria. A new alarm also had been added, at the revolt of the Latins and Hernici, who, since the battle fought at Lake Regillus,¹ had for nearly a hundred years remained in friendship with the Roman people with a fidelity that never wavered. Accordingly, as such great alarms on every side surrounded them, and it was clear to all that the Roman name had to contend, not only with hatred at the hands of their enemies, but also with contempt among their allies, it was resolved that the state should be defended under the same auspices [as those] under which it had been recovered, and that Marcus Furius Camillus should be named dictator. When made dictator, he nominated Gaius Servilius Ahala master of the knights; and, proclaiming a suspension of all legal business, he held a levy of the younger men, in such a manner as to enrol in separate centuries, after they had sworn to obey his orders, those of the older men² also, in whom there remained any vigour. The army, when

2.

¹ *Pugnam ad lacum Regillum*: see ii. 19-20, and Macaulay's noble 'Lay.'

² *Seniores*: i.e. over 45. *In verba iuratos*: cf. Hor. *Epod.* xv. 4, 'in verba iurabas mea'; *Epp.* I. i. 14. It means to swear to keep a declaration which is dictated to one.

enrolled and armed, he divided into three parts. One part he posted against Etruria in the Veientian territory, the second he ordered to pitch their camp before the city. The military tribunes were set in command, Aulus Manlius of the latter division, Lucius Aemilius of those who were despatched against the Etruscans. He himself led the third part towards the Volscians, and not far from Lanuvium (the place is called Ad Mecium) he set about attacking their camp. Into these, who had set out to the war in a spirit of contempt, because they believed almost all the Roman youth to have been destroyed by the Gauls, the mere hearing of Camillus being in command had struck so much terror that they fenced themselves with a rampart, and the rampart with trees piled together, so that the enemy might not be able to reach to the fortifications by any way. When Camillus observed this, he ordered fire to be thrown on to the fence that had been reared against him; and there happened to be a strong gale of wind blowing towards the enemy, and so he not only opened a passage by the fire, but, as the flames were directed against the camp, he so confounded the enemy by the heat also and the smoke, and the roaring of the green timber¹ as it blazed, that the Romans had less trouble in getting over the rampart into the camp of the Volscians than they had had in climbing the fence after it had been consumed by the fire. After the enemy was routed and cut down, and the dictator had taken their camp by a sudden rush, he gave the spoil to the soldiers. It was the more gratifying to the troops as it was the less expected, the general being by no means a lavish giver.² Then pursuing the fugitives, after he had devastated all the Volscian territory, he at last, in the seventieth year,³ reduced the Volscians to a surrender. After his victory he passed from the Volscians to

¹ *Materiae*: p. 118, n. 6. *Moles*, p. 41, n. 1.

² *Minime largitore*: v. 20, &c.

³ *Septuagesimo*: the Volscians had been enemies of Rome from the very commencement of the Republic, but having once been reduced to submission they had resumed the war afresh about 72 years before this time (A.U.C. 294): iii. 22.

the Aequans, who were also preparing for war. He came suddenly upon their army at Bolae, and attacked and took, not only their camp, but the city as well at the first rush.

While in that direction where Camillus was the life and soul of the Roman fortunes his success was such, a great alarm had weighed on another quarter. Almost all Etruria was in arms and besieging Sutrium, allies of the Roman people, whose ambassadors, praying for aid for their shattered fortunes, applied to the Senate, and received a decree¹ that the dictator at the very first opportunity should bear assistance to the Sutrines. As the condition of the besieged could not suffer the delay of this hope, and the small numbers of the townsmen, worn out with labour, watching, and wounds, which pressed heavily on the same men continually, having surrendered the city to the enemy on a capitulation, were abandoning their hearths and homes in a miserable train, unarmed, and dismissed with only one garment each, at that moment Camillus happened to come up with the Roman army. And when the sad crowd threw themselves down at his feet, and the address of the chief men, wrung from them by extreme need, was followed by the weeping of women and children, who were dragged along as companions of their exile, he bade the Sutrines spare their lamentations: he brought with him grief and tears for the Etruscans. He then orders the packs to be laid down, and the Sutrines to halt there, with a small guard which he left, and the soldiers to bring only their arms with them. Setting out with his army thus unencumbered² to Sutrium, he found, as he expected, everything in careless disorder, as usually happens in success; no outpost before the walls, the gates wide open, the conquerors wandering about, carrying out the booty from the houses of the enemy. A second time, therefore, in the same day is Sutrium taken. The

¹ *Decretum tulere*: ii. 12, 'ut beneficio tuleris a me quod minis nequisti:' iii. 6 (mid.), 'maestum etiam responsum tulere.' So 'praemium, victoriam ferre.'

² *Expedito*: i.e. without their *sarcinae* or *impedimenta* of any kind.

victorious Etruscans are slaughtered in every direction by the new enemy, and no time is given them for rallying together and mustering in one body, or even for taking arms. Making for the gates, each for himself, [to see] if perchance they could throw themselves by any way into the fields, they find the gates shut, for that had been the first command of the dictator. Upon this, some began to take arms, others, who happened to be armed when the sudden attack had come upon them, called their friends together to begin the battle, which would have been kindled by the desperation of the enemy, had not criers, sent round through the city, ordered that all arms should be laid down, that quarter should be given to the unarmed, and that none except those in arms should be injured. Then even those whose hearts had been obstinately set on fighting¹ in their last hope, threw down their arms in every direction when hopes of life were offered, and presented themselves to the enemy unarmed, which fortune had rendered the safest thing to do. Their numbers being large, they were divided into several convoys.² The town was restored to the Sutrinæ before night, uninjured and safe from all the calamities of war, because it had not been taken by assault but surrendered on terms.

4. Camillus returned to the city in triumph, victorious in three wars at once. By far the greatest number of the prisoners whom he led before his chariot were from among the Etruscans: and when they were sold by auction,³ so much money was brought into the treasury⁴ that after paying the matrons the price of their gold, out of that which remained in hand, three golden bowls were made, which are unanimously agreed to have been placed, before the burning of the Capitol,⁵ in Jupiter's shrine before the feet of Juno, with the inscription of Camillus' name. In this year those Veientians, Capena-

¹ *Decertandum*: fighting to the last, to death. So 'depugnare,' vii. 26, 8.

² *Custodias*: Hor. *C.* IV. vi. 33, 'Deliae tutela deae.'

³ *Venundatis* = 'venum datis,' lit. offered for sale, p. 17, n. 9.

⁴ *Redactum*: p. 49, n. 2.

⁵ *Ante Capitolium incensum*: in the Marsic War, A.U.C. 670.

tians, and Faliscans, who had come over to the Romans during the wars with these nations, were admitted to citizenship, and land was assigned these new citizens. Those also, who, from reluctance to building at Rome, had betaken themselves to Veii and possessed themselves of empty houses there, were recalled to the city by a decree of the Senate. And at first there were murmurs from them, disregarding the authority of the Senate: then the fixing of a certain day [for the return] and of capital punishment [for all] who did not come back again to Rome rendered them singly obedient, each from fear for himself, instead of their being collectively so defiant. And Rome now grew in population, and at the same time rose up with its buildings throughout its length and breadth; for the state helped to defray the expenses, the aediles¹ pressed for the completion of the work as though it were a public [business], and private persons hastened of themselves to [reach] the end of their work, for the want of accommodation warned them to do so: within the year the new city was built. At the end of the year elections were held for military tribunes with consular power. Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, Quintus Servilius Fidenas for the fifth time, Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Aquilius Corvus, Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus, Servius Sulpicius Rufus were elected, and led one army against the Aequi, not to war, for they confessed themselves conquered, but to lay waste their land from hatred, so that they might leave them no strength for fresh attempts; the other into the Tarquinian territory. There Cortuosa and Contenebra, towns of the Etruscans, were taken by storm. At Cortuosa there was no contest: making an unexpected attack, they took it at the first shout and rush; the town was plundered and set on fire. Contenebra withstood the assault for a few days, and only continuous labour, relaxed neither day nor night, reduced them. As the Roman army, divided into six parts, took

¹ It was the business of the aediles to superintend the building of houses, temples, &c.: the censors were concerned only with the financial part of the work. See Introduction.

up the battle six hours each in rotation,¹ while the smallness of their numbers exposed the weary townsmen, without the power of relieving one another, to a combat ever fresh, they at length yielded, and an opening was given to the Romans for making their way into the city. It was the intention of the tribunes that the spoil should be made public property, but the order was [issued] too late for their determination: while they are delaying, the spoil had already become the property of the soldiers, nor could it be taken from them without [exciting] great dissatisfaction. In the same year, in order that the city might not increase by private works alone, the lower part of the Capitol also was built round with hewn stone:² a work deserving of notice even in the present magnificence of the city.

5.

At this time, too, while the state was occupied with building, the tribunes of the commons were endeavouring to draw crowds to their harangues by [bringing forward] agrarian laws. The Pomptine territory,³ which was then for the first time, after the power of the Volscians had been broken by Camillus, undoubtedly in their possession, was held out as an attraction to them.⁴ They alleged that this district was [made] more dangerous by their own nobility than it had been by the Volscians: for raids were only made in it by the latter so long as they had strength and arms, but these nobly-born men were advancing to [take] permanent possession of the public land, and unless it were divided before they seized everything, there would be no room there for the commons. They did not make much impression on the commons, who attended in no great numbers in the forum through their anxiety for building, and for the same reason⁵ were exhausted by their

¹ *Senis horis in orbem*: p. 55, n. 1.

² *I.e.* a stone wall was built round the base of the Tarpeian rock, on which the Capitol stood: traces of this still remain.

³ *Pomptinus ager*, a marshy district of Latium, lying between the territory of the Latini and the sea.

⁴ *In spem*: v. 30 (end), 'in eam spem liberos tollere.' Another reading is *in speciem* ('professedly').

⁵ *Eodem* = 'ob eandem causam': cf. 'eo' (next clause) = 'ob eam causam.'

expenses and therefore less inclined to think about land, which they had not the ability to stock.¹ In the state, full as it was of religious scruples, the leading men too at this time being inclined to superstition after their recent disaster, matters returned to an interregnum in order that the auspices might be taken afresh.² The interreges were in succession Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus: the last at length held the elections for military tribunes with consular power. He nominates Lucius Papirius, Gaius Cornelius, Gaius Sergius, Lucius Aemilius a second time, Lucius Menenius, and Lucius Valerius Publicola for the third time: these entered office after the interregnum.³ This year the temple of Mars vowed in the Gallic war was dedicated by Titus Quinctius, one of the two commissioners for the performance of religious matters. Four tribes⁴ were added from the new citizens: the Stellatine, the Tromentine, the Sabatine, and the Arnian: and they made up the number of twenty-five tribes.

With regard to the Pomptine territory proceedings were taken by Lucius Sicinius, tribune of the commons, before the people, who now attended in greater numbers and were more easily roused to the desire of land than they had been. Mention was also made in the Senate of the Latin and Hernican war, but was postponed owing to the attention [required by] a more important war, because Etruria was in arms. It ended in Camillus [being made] military tribune with consular authority: five colleagues were added, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis, Quintus Servilius Fidenas for the sixth time, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Horatius Pulvillus,

6.

¹ *Ad quem instruendum*: i.e. with buildings, implements, and stock in general. Cic. *Phil.* vi. 5, 14, 'Possessores [agrorum] animo aequiore discedent: nullam impensam fecerant: nondum *instruerant*, partim quia non confidebant, partim quia non habebant.' 'Instruere' = κατασκευάζειν.

² I.e. because 'religione iniecta, quod auspiciis non rite captis vitio creati essent tribuni, nihil eos feliciter gesturos putabant, adeoque neque novos tribunos rite creaturos.'—Stroth.

³ I.e. not on the regular day for taking office, which had passed.

⁴ *Tribus*: see Introduction.

and Publius Valerius. At the commencement of the year men's attention was drawn away from the Etruscan war, because a body of fugitives from the Pomptine district suddenly poured into the city, and brought word that the Antians were in arms, and the Latin states had sent their young men to the war, asserting that for this reason the measure was not a national one, because they said that they were only not prevented from serving as volunteers where they liked. Wars of any kind were now no longer despised. Accordingly the Senate gave thanks to the gods because Camillus was in office, as [they knew] that he would have had to be named dictator if he were not in power: and his colleagues agreed that, when any alarm of war threatened them, the control of everything should be in [the hands of] one man, and that it was their determination to surrender their authority to Camillus, and they did not believe that any concession that they had made to the dignity of that [great] man was withdrawn from their own. After the tribunes were highly praised by the Senate, Camillus himself also, with much confusion, returned thanks. A vast burden, he then said, was laid on him by the Roman people by their having made him dictator¹ now for the fourth time: a great one by the Senate, by such a [flattering] opinion of the House concerning him; the greatest of all, by so distinguished a condescension² of his colleagues. If, therefore, any labour and vigilance could be added [to what he always displayed], vying with himself, he would strive to render the opinion of the state about him, which was so great and [expressed] with such unanimity, permanent as well.³ As regarded the war and

¹ *Dictatorem*: if this word, which Madvig brackets, is to be retained, it must be taken to mean that power equal to the dictatorial had been vested in Camillus by the voluntary surrender of supreme authority into his hands by his colleagues: he was not dictator strictly speaking.

² *Honorato obsequio*: a condescension which conferred honour on its recipient: a proleptic use of the word. Some read 'honoratorum.' *Talibus de se iudicatis*: iii. 51, 'melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate ista de me iudicia.'

³ There seem to be two ways of taking this sentence, 'ut tanto

the Antians, there was more menace than danger in them; still, he advised them not to despise, any more than to fear, anything. The Roman city was beset by the envy and hatred of its neighbours, and accordingly the public cause must be maintained by several generals and armies at once. 'It is my wish,' said he, 'that you, Lucius Valerius, as my associate in command and counsel, should lead the legions with me against the Antian enemy: that you, Quintus Servilius, shall draw up and equip another army and encamp near the city, ready [for service] whether Etruria, as lately, or this new trouble, the Latins and Hernicans, bestir themselves in the meantime: I am confident that you will act as is worthy of your father, your grandfather, and yourself, and of six tribunates. Let a third army be enlisted by Lucius Quinctius of those excused from military service¹ and the older men, to serve as a garrison for the city and the walls. Let Lucius Horatius provide arms, javelins, corn, and everything else that seasons of war shall require. We, your colleagues, make you, Servius Cornelius, the president of this public council² and guardian of religious matters, the assemblies, the laws, and all the affairs of the city.' All cheerfully promising zealous service in the several parts of their duty, Valerius, who was chosen as his associate in command, added that he would regard Marcus Furius as dictator, and himself as his master of the horse: let them therefore have hopes for the war as high as their opinion of their commander when left free from interference.³ The senators, elated with joy, cry out that they had indeed good hopes of the war, of peace, and of public affairs in general, and that the commonwealth would never have need of a dictator if it had such men in office, united by such feelings of harmony, prepared alike to obey and to command, and contributing their

de se consensu civitatis opinionem, quae maxima sit, etiam constantem efficiat: 'either as in the text, or taking 'constantem' as meaning 'consistent with,' 'corresponding to,' with 'consensu' as the dative.

¹ *Causarii*: those excused on account of ill-health.

² *I.e.* the Senate.

³ *Unico*: or simply, 'unrivalled': 'ch. 22, end.

glory to the common stock rather than drawing it from the common store to themselves.

7.

A cessation of legal business was proclaimed¹ and a levy held, and Furius and Valerius set out to Satricum, whither the Antians had gathered together not only the youth of the Volscians, chosen from the new generation, but² a vast force of Latins and Hernicans, from states whose strength was intact owing to the long peace. In consequence, the new enemy added to the old disturbed the minds of the Roman troops. When the centurions reported this to Camillus as he was already drawing up his line of battle, namely, that the minds of the soldiers were uneasy, their arms taken up reluctantly; that they marched out of the camp with hesitation and unwillingness; moreover, that expressions were even heard that they would have to fight with a hundred enemies each, and that such a number could with difficulty be resisted when unarmed, much less armed; he leaped on his horse, and riding between the ranks in front of the standards, turning towards the line [he said]: 'What dejection, soldiers, is this, what unwonted hesitation? Is it the enemy, or I, or yourselves that you do not know? What else is the enemy but the constant subject [whereon to display] your valour³ and your glory? You, again, with me for your general, to say nothing of the capture of Falerii and Veii and the slaughter of the legions of the Gauls in capturing your native city, have lately celebrated a triple triumph for your threefold victory over these very Volscians and Aequans and over Etruria. Is it I that you do not recognise as your general because I gave you the signal not as dictator but as tribune? I do not need absolute authority over you, nor ought you to regard in me anything except myself: for the

¹ *Iustitio indicto*: this would be necessary, as all the supreme magistrates would be engaged in military affairs.

² *Non modo . . . sed*: without *etiam*, as often in Livy, denoting more emphatic antithesis.

³ *Materia virtutis*: ii. 3, 'belli materia et adiumentum.' vi. 11, 'm. seditionum:' *ib.* 22, 'materia ad omnem laudem;' &c. Cf. Gr. 5λγ.

dictatorship never gave me my courage any more than exile took it away. We are all, therefore, the same men as before,¹ and since we bring to this war all the same qualities as we brought to former ones, let us look for the same issue of the war. As soon as you close with them, each will do what he has learned and been accustomed to do: you will conquer, they will fly.'

Then, giving the signal, he leaped down from his horse, and seizing the nearest standard-bearer by the hand, he drags him with him against the enemy, crying out, 'Soldier, bring on the standard!' But when they saw Camillus himself, now enfeebled by age for bodily exertion, advancing against the enemy, all rush forwards together, raising a shout, and calling out each for himself, 'Follow the general!' They say that the standard was even flung into the enemy's ranks by order of Camillus, and the foremost men cheered on to recover it: there first the Antians were routed, and terror carried not only into the front rank but even to the reserves. Nor was it merely the impetuosity of the troops, animated by the presence of the general, that made them give ground, but because nothing was more terrible to the hearts of the Volscians than the sight of Camillus himself, when it happened to present itself: so did he carry with him certain victory wherever he turned. This was especially evident when, hastily seizing his horse, he rode with an infantry shield to the left wing, which was now almost defeated, and restored the battle by his very appearance, pointing to the rest of the line victorious. The affair was now decided, but the crowds of the enemy even hindered their flight, and the weary soldiers would have had to dispatch so great a multitude with a long slaughter, when suddenly rain pouring down with a violent storm, broke off what was rather a certain victory than a battle.² The signal for retreat was then given, and the night that followed ended the war without any trouble to the Romans.

8.

¹ *Idem omnes sumus*: i.e. 'et hostis et ego et vos.'

² *Certam magis victoriam quam praelium*: cf. v. 54, 'minus iniuriæ vestrae quam meae calamitatis meminisse iuvat.'

For the Latins and Hernicans, abandoning the Volscians, set out for their homes, having obtained an issue corresponding to their wicked plans. When the Volscians saw themselves deserted by those through confidence in whom they had provoked war afresh, they abandoned their camp and shut themselves up within the walls of Satricum. Camillus at first attempted to surround them with a rampart, and to attack [the city] with a mound¹ and siege-works; but when he saw that they were not hindered by any sally, supposing that there was too little courage in the enemy for him² to wait for a victory of such slow expectation over them, he exhorted his men not to wear themselves out by tedious labour, as [they did when] attacking Veii, that the victory was in their hands; and assailing the walls on every side with great eagerness on the part of the soldiers, he took the town by escalade.³ The Volscians laid down their arms and surrendered.

9. But the general's mind was fixed on⁴ a more important object, namely, Antium: that [he knew] was the main strength⁵ of the Volscians, and had been the cause of the late war. 'But because so strong a city could not be taken except by a great siege-train—artillery⁶ and engines—leaving his colleague with the army he set out for Rome to urge the Senate to destroy Antium. In the midst of his speech (I suppose that it was the will of the gods⁷ that the fortunes of Antium should remain longer), ambassadors come from Nepete and Sutrium asking aid against the Etruscans, warning them that the opportunity of bearing aid would be soon gone. Thither did fortune avert the force of Camillus from Antium: for as those places lay opposite

¹ *Aggere*, etc.: p. 28, n. 8.

² *Minus quam ut*: so little that there was no need.

³ *Scalis*: lit. by scaling-ladders.

⁴ *Imminebat*: iii. 51, 'imminens ei potestati:' xxv. 20, 'in alterius ducis exercitusque opprimendi occasionem imminebat:' xxxi. 47, 'Gallico triumpho imminens.'

⁵ *Caput*: ch. 3 (*init.*), 'caput rei Romanæ Camillus.'

⁶ *Tormenta*, from 'torqueo: 'machines for hurling darts and stones.

⁷ *Diis cordi fuisse* = 'd. curae f.,' ix. 1, 3; x. 42, 7, etc.

Etruria and were barriers and gates as it were from thence, *they* were anxious to seize them, when they made any change in their policy,¹ and the Romans to recover and defend them. The Senate, therefore, thought it best to request Camillus to leave Antium alone and undertake the Etruscan war: the legions in the city, which Quinctius had commanded, are decreed to him. Although he would have preferred the army which was among the Volscians, as being tried and accustomed to his authority, he made no objection; he only demanded Valerius as his associate in command. Quinctius and Horatius were sent against the Volscians as successors to Valerius. Marching from the city to Sutrium, Furius and Valerius found part of the town already captured by the Etruscans, and the townsmen with difficulty defending themselves against the attack of the enemy from the other part by barricading the approaches. The arrival of aid from Rome, as well as the name of Camillus, so celebrated both among enemies and allies, upheld their sinking fortunes for the present and gave time to bring assistance. And so, dividing his army, Camillus orders his colleague to lead his forces round to that quarter which the enemy held and attack the walls: not so much in the hope that the city could be captured by escalade as in order that, while the enemy's attention was drawn in that direction, the toil of the townsmen, who were now weary of fighting, might be relaxed, and that he himself might have an opportunity of entering the walls without a struggle. When this was done on both sides at once, and a two-fold alarm surrounded the Etruscans, and they saw the walls attacked with the greatest fury and the enemy already within the walls, they rushed out in terror in one body through a gate which alone happened not to be guarded. A great slaughter was made of the fugitives both in the city and throughout the fields: the greater number were slain within the walls by Furius' men: those of Valerius were more active for the pursuit, nor did they put an end to the slaughter before night,

¹ *Cum quid novi molirentur*: p. 17, n. 4.

which prevented their seeing. Sutrium being retaken and restored to the allies, the army was led to Nepete, the whole of which the Etruscans now held, as it had been handed over to them by capitulation.

10. It seemed that there would be the more trouble in recovering this city, not only because it was wholly in the hands of the enemy, but also because the surrender had been made through the betrayal of the state by a part of Nepesines. It was determined, however, that [a message] should be sent to their chief men to separate themselves from the Etruscans and to display themselves that good faith which they had implored from the Romans. When the answer was brought from them¹ that there was nothing in their power, that the Etruscans kept the walls and the guard of the gates, first terror was brought to bear on the townsmen by devastation of their land; then, when the faith of the capitulation was more scrupulously observed than that of the alliance,² fascines were collected from the fields, the army was led up to the walls, and, the ditches being filled, scaling-ladders were applied and the town taken at the first shout and rush. Proclamation was then made to the Nepesines to lay down their arms, and orders were given that mercy should be shown the unarmed: the Etruscans, armed and unarmed alike, were put to the sword. Of the Nepesines also the authors of the surrender were beheaded: to the unoffending multitude their property was given back, and the town was left with a garrison. Thus, having recovered two allied cities from the enemy, the tribunes led back their victorious army to Rome with great glory. The same year restitution was demanded from the Latins and Hernicans, and the question was put why during the last few years they had not supplied soldiers according to agreement.³ An answer was given in a full assembly of both nations 'that in the fact that some of their young men had served among the Volscians neither the

¹ *Unde*: of persons: p. 50, n. 5.

² *Societatis*: i.e. their former alliance with the Romans.

³ *Ex instituto* [more]: see Introduction.

fault nor the plan was national: they had, however, themselves received the penalty of their improper conduct, and not one of them had returned. Again, the cause of their not supplying soldiers had been their continual terror from the Volscians, a plague which stuck to their side and could not be got rid of by so many wars one after another.¹ When this answer was brought back to the Fathers it seemed to lack rather a suitable opportunity for war than a sufficient cause for it.

The following year, when Aulus Manlius, Publius Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quinctius Capitolinus, Lucius Papirius Cursor for the second time, Gaius Sergius for the second time, were military tribunes with consular power, a dangerous war broke out abroad and still more dangerous faction at home: the war from the Volscians, with the addition of a revolt of the Latins and Hernicans; the civil disturbance [from a quarter] whence² it could least have been feared, namely, from a man of patrician family and distinguished reputation, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, who, being too aspiring in mind,³ while he despised the other leading men and envied one alone who was distinguished both by dignity and virtues, Marcus Furius, was indignant that he only was in office and with the armies, that he was now so exalted as to treat those who were elected under the same auspices as himself not as colleagues but as servants; while all the time, if anyone cared to form a right judgment, their country could not have been recovered by Marcus Furius from the enemy's siege had not the Capitol and citadel been first saved by himself: and the former attacked the Gauls while they were receiving the gold and when their minds were relaxed in the hope of peace, *he* drove them off when armed and [in the act of] taking the citadel; of the other's glory, a man's share remained with all the soldiers who con-

11.

¹ Or 'tot super alia aliis bellis' may be the abl. abs., understanding 'existentibus,' as Drakenborch thinks.

² *Unde*: p. 22, n. 2; p. 50, n. 5.

³ *Nimius animi*: cf. Hor. *C. I.* xxii. 1; Verg. *Aen.* iv. 203, 'amens animi'; ix. 246, 'animi maturus'; xii. 19, 'praestans animi.' Cf. p. 267, n. 3.

quered along with him: in *his* victory no mortal man was a sharer. His mind puffed up with these opinions, and being besides vehement and headstrong¹ also by a defect of temper, when he perceived that his influence was not so prominent among the patricians as he thought it ought to be, he, the first of all the patricians, became a popular leader and communicated his designs to the plebeian magistrates; by bringing accusations against the patricians and alluring the commons to his side, he was now carried along by the breath [of popular favour],² not by prudence, and preferred to be of great rather than good reputation. And not content with agrarian laws, which had always been material for disturbances to the tribunes of the commons,³ he began to undermine⁴ public credit, [knowing well] that the spur of debt was sharper, as it not only threatened poverty and shame, but used to menace free men with thongs and chains. And there was a large amount of debt contracted by building, a most ruinous task even for the rich. The Volscian war, therefore, dangerous in itself, and made a still heavier burden by the revolt of the Latins and Hernicans, was given out professedly as the cause why a higher authority should be resorted to; but it was rather the revolutionary designs⁵ of Manlius that drove the Senate to appoint a dictator. Aulus Cornelius Cossus was appointed, and nominated Titus Quinctius Capitolinus master of the horse.

12.

The dictator, though he saw that a greater struggle was before him at home than abroad, nevertheless,

¹ *Impotens*: p. 86, n. 5.

² *Aura*, i.e. 'popularis aura' (Hor. *C.* III. ii. 20; Verg. *Aen.* vi. 817): 'adspirans populi favor: metaphora a navigatione translata.' Cf. xxii. 26, 'aura favoris popularis'; iii. 37, 'aura libertatis.'

³ *Legibus quae materia semper tr. plebi seditionum fuisset*: for the attraction of the relative to the number of the object cf. p. 40, n. 7. 'Materia seditionum,' p. 140, n. 3. 'Plebi,' p. 28, n. 3.

⁴ *Moliri* = 'labefactare,' 'vi adhibita movere,' vi. 33, 'molientes obices portarum,' xxiii. 18, 'moliri portas et claustra refringere.' For the importance of public credit cf. Cic. *De Off.* ii. 24, 'nec enim ulla res vehementius rem publicam continet, quam fides: quae esse nulla potest, nisi erit necessaria solutio rerum creditarum.'

⁵ *Nova consilia*: p. 17, n. 4.

either because there was need of despatch for the war or supposing that by a victory and triumph he would add strength to the dictatorship itself, held a levy and proceeded into the Pomptine territory, whither he had heard that an army had been led¹ by the Volscians. I doubt not that, besides weariness, to persons reading in so many books now of perpetual wars waged with the Volscians this same [thought] also will occur which was a wonder to me in studying the authors [who lived] nearer to the times of these events: namely, from what source were soldiers always at the disposal of the Volscians and Aequans, so often conquered as they were? And as this has been omitted without explanation by the ancients, what, pray, can *I* state, except mere opinion, of which everyone by conjecture can have one of his own? It is probable either that they employed (as is the case at the present day in the Roman conscriptions) first one generation of young men and then another, in the intervals of hostilities, to renew the war so many times; or that their armies were not always raised from the same states, although it was always the same *race* that waged the war; or that there once was an innumerable multitude of freemen in those districts which now Roman slaves² save from being a desert [and where] barely a scanty nursery³ of soldiers is left. At any rate, as is agreed in all authors,⁴ the army of the Volscians was very great, though their fortunes had lately received a severe blow under the leadership and auspices of Camillus; besides, the Latins

¹ *Inductum*: another reading is 'indictum,' ordered to meet in the Pomptine district: cf. x. 38, 'exercitus omnis Aquiloniam est indictus.'

² *Servitia*: p. 58, n. 3. In Livy's time (*i.e.* under the Empire) Italy was occupied almost entirely by great landowners, who turned it into grazing ground and gave their vast flocks and herds to the care of slaves.

³ *Seminario*: xlii. 61, 'equites seminarium senatus.' Cic. *De Off.* i. 17, 'una domus . . . est principium urbis et quasi seminarium reipublicae.'

⁴ *Quod inter omnes auctores conveniat*: lit. as to which (on which point) there is agreement amongst . . . : p. 74, n. 7, and ch. 34, 'quod quidem continens memoria sit.'

and Hernicans had joined them and some of the Circeians, and even Roman colonists from Velitrae. The dictator, having pitched his camp on that day, coming forth next day after taking the auspices, and imploring the favour of the gods by the sacrifice of a victim, joyfully came forward to the soldiers, who were now taking their arms, as the order had been given on the signal for battle being displayed at daybreak. 'The victory is ours, soldiers,' said he, 'if the gods and their prophets see at all into the future. And so, as it becomes men full of certain hope and about to join in battle with those who are no match for them, let us lay down our javelins¹ at our feet and arm our right hands with the sword alone. I would not even wish any advance to be made from the line, but for you to receive the enemy's charge standing your ground in a steady posture.² When they have hurled their useless missiles and thrown themselves in a swarm upon you as you stand, then let your swords glitter and let every man remember in his heart that there are gods to aid the Roman, even the gods who have sent him into the battle with favourable omens.³ Do you, Titus Quinctius, keep back the cavalry, watching just for the commencement⁴ of the struggle; but when you see the line close up foot to foot,⁵ then strike terror into them with your cavalry while they are occupied with another task, and scatter the ranks of the combatants with a charge.' Both cavalry and infantry fight just as he had ordered them; neither did the general disappoint the legions nor fortune the general.

13.

The vast multitude of the enemy, relying on nothing save their numbers,⁶ and estimating both armies merely

¹ *Pilis*: the *pilum* was the distinctive arm of the Romans, who are called by their old poets 'pilatus populus': it was about six feet long and very heavy.

² *Obnixos*: p. 17, n. 1: viii. 38 (mid.), 'in suo quisque gradu obnixa.'

³ *Avibus* = *ominibus*. Hor. *C. I.* xv. 5; III. iii. 61; IV. vi. 24; *Epod.* x. 1.

⁴ *Primum initium*: pleonasm: cf. i. 3, 'rudimentum primum.'

⁵ *Haerere aciem collato pede*: Verg. *Aen.* x. 361, 'haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.'

⁶ *Nulli rei praeterquam numero freta*: for 'fretus' with dative

by the eye, entered on the battle lightly, and lightly gave it up; fierce only in the shout and missile weapons and the first charge of the fight, they could not stand the swords, the hand-to-hand struggle, and the look of the enemy gleaming with the ardour of their courage. Their first line was driven in and the confusion spread to the reserves, and the cavalry struck terror as they had been directed: ¹ then their ranks were broken in many places, and all gave way, and their array wavered. ² Then when, as the foremost fell, each saw that slaughter would now reach himself, they turn their backs. The Romans pressed upon them, and, so long as they went off armed and in bodies, the labour in the pursuit fell to the infantry; when it was perceived that their arms were thrown away in every direction and the enemy's host was scattered through the fields in flight, then squadrons of horse were sent out, the word being given ³ that they should not, by delaying to slaughter individuals, afford the main body time to escape in the meanwhile: it was enough that their flight should be impeded by missiles and by terror, and that the march of their troops should be checked by the attacks of the cavalry, until the infantry could follow up and despatch the enemy with regular slaughter. ⁴ There was no end of the flight and pursuit before night. On the same day the camp of the Volscians was also taken and plundered, and all the booty, except the free men, was given up to the troops. The greatest part of the prisoners consisted of Latins and Hernicans, and not all of them from the commons, so that it could be believed that they had served for hire; but some of the young

cf. iv. 37 (mid.), 'fortunae fretus.' It is very rare, and said by some to be a 'Patavinitas' (provincialism) of Livy.

¹ *Suum*: that which had been assigned to them.

² *Fluctuanti similis* may be paraphrased: 'tossed to and fro like the waves of the sea.'

³ *Dato signo*: the word of command: ii. 20, 'dat signum, ut quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant;' v. 36, 'per totam aciem Romanum legatum esse signum datum est;' xxi. 14, 'signo dato ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium', &c.

⁴ *Iusta caede*: i.e. thorough: *cf.* p. 33, n. 5.

men were found to be persons of rank, a plain assurance¹ that the Volscian enemy had been assisted by the resources of the state. Some of the Circeians also were recognised, and colonists from Velitrae; and being all sent to Rome, they revealed plainly enough the same facts to the chief senators, on their questioning them, as [they had already done] to the dictator, namely, the revolt each of his respective state.

14.

The dictator kept his army in a stationary camp, not at all doubting that the Senate would order war with those states; when a more serious difficulty² that arose at home compelled him to be summoned to Rome, as faction gathered strength every day, and its author rendered it more formidable than usual. For it was now [obvious] to anyone who considered,³ from what purpose proceeded not only the speeches of Marcus Manlius but his actions, which were apparently done for the sake of the people, but at the same time⁴ excited disturbances. When he saw a centurion, illustrious for his military exploits, led away [to prison] on a judgment for debt,⁵ he ran to him in the middle of the forum, with his band of attendants, and laid his hand on him; and crying out against the pride of the patricians and the cruelty of money-lenders and the poverty⁶ of the commons, and the virtues and misfortune of the man: 'Then, indeed,' said he, 'in vain have I with this right hand saved the Capitol and the citadel, if I am to see my fellow-citizen and fellow-soldier, as though taken prisoner by victorious Gauls, dragged into slavery and chains.' Then he paid the money to the creditor in the presence of the people,⁷ and setting the man at liberty by the

¹ *Manifesta fides*: Verg. *Aen.* ii. 309, 'tum vero manifesta fides.'

² *Moles*: p. 41, n. 1.

³ *Intuenti erant*: this use of 'esse' is something like that of 'est' = 'potest.' Another reading is 'intuenda': 'non solum orationes Manlii sed facta consideranda erant, qua mente (quo consilio) fierent,' but this is very feeble.

⁴ *Eadem*: p. 68, n. 1.

⁵ *Iudicatum pecuniae* = 'damnatum ob non solutam pecuniam'. — Doering. Cf. 'damnatus, reus, voti': p. 65, n. 1.

⁶ *Miseriis*: Fr. *misère*.

⁷ *Palam populo*: *palam* is not often used as a preposition: Hor. *Epod.* xi. 19, 'ubi haec severus te palam laudaveram.'

scales and bronze,¹ he let him go, imploring gods and men to grant a reward to Marcus Manlius, his ransom, the father of the Roman commons. Being immediately received into the turbulent crowd, he himself also increased their turbulence by pointing to the scars received in the Veientian, Gallic, and other subsequent wars, and [declaring] that he while serving in the field and while restoring his ruined home, though he had now paid off the principal many times over, was overwhelmed with usury, for the interest always covered the principal: that it was through the services of Marcus Manlius that he beheld the light, the forum, and the faces of his fellow-citizens: from him did he receive all the kindness of a parent, to him did he dedicate all that was left of his body, his life, and his blood; whatever ties bound him to his country, to the hearth-gods of the state and to his own, bound him likewise to that one man.' When the commons, agitated by these words, were now [under the control] of one man,² another circumstance was added, [part] of a more effectual scheme for causing general commotion.³ He placed a farm in the Veientian territory, the most valuable part⁴ of his patrimony, in the hands of the auctioneer—'That I may not suffer one of you, citizens of Rome,' he said, 'to be sentenced or given into the custody of his creditor,⁵ and led to prison, so long as any of my property remains.' This, indeed, so inflamed their minds, that they seemed ready to follow him as the champion of liberty through right

¹ *Libra et aere*: i.e. by formal payment in the olden style, when there was no coined money. *Liberatum*: by paying the man's debt Manlius purchased him as his own slave.

² *Unius hominis esset*: iii. 36, 'hominum, non causarum, toti erant;' *ib.* 38, 'suarum rerum erant, amissa publica;' *ib.* 48, 'Icilius vox tota tribuniciae potestatis... erat;' xxii. 50, 'alterius [consulis] morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.'

³ *Commotiōis* is used in a proleptic sense = 'consilii ad omnia commovenda idonei.'

⁴ *Caput patrimonii*: v. 8, 'caput omnium curarum.' Cic. *De Am.* xiii. 45, 'caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem.'

⁵ *Addictum*: handed over by legal sentence as a slave to his creditor.

and wrong. Besides this, [he used to deliver] speeches at his house, like a public haranguer, full of accusations against the patricians; amongst which, careless to distinguish whether his utterances were true or false, he alleged¹ that treasures of the gold paid to the Gauls were concealed by the patricians; that they were no longer contented with possessing public land for their own, without appropriating² public money also; if that were to be made public,³ the commons could be set free from debt. When this hope was offered them, it did indeed⁴ seem a shameful deed that when gold had had to be contributed to ransom the state from the Gauls the collection had been made by public taxation, but that the same gold, when taken from the Gauls, had fallen a prey⁵ to some few men. Accordingly, they followed up [the enquiry] by asking⁶ where plunder of such magnitude was concealed; and when he put off [the explanation] and said that he would reveal it at his own time, all other matters were laid aside, and the attention of all was directed to this point; and it was evident that neither men's gratitude for the information if it were true, nor their displeasure if it were false, would be slight.⁷

15. Matters being thus in suspense, the dictator, summoned from the army, came into the city. Holding an assembly of the Senate next day, after sufficiently enquiring into the inclinations of the people, and forbidding the Senate to withdraw from him, he placed his chair of state in the comitium, attended by that body,⁸

¹ *Iecit*: p. 46, n. 8. *An*: p. 71, n. 7.

² *Avertant*: divert from its proper use to their own profit: i. 7, 'cum avertere eam praedam vellet'; xxxiii. 47, 'quantum peculatus averteret.'

³ *Palam fiat*: p. 85, n. 1.

⁴ *Enimvero*: simply emphatic, as *enim* itself sometimes is: p. 20, n. 6. Verg. *Aen.* i. 19, ii. 164, vi. 317, viii. 84.

⁵ *In praedam cessisse*: xxvi. 26, 'praeda ex pacto Romanis cessit'; xxxi. 46 (end), 'captiva corpora Romanis cessere.'

⁶ *Exsequabantur quaerendo*: p. 38, n. 1; iii. 20, 'persequi quaerendo'; ix. 3, 11, 'percunctando exsequi'; xxv. 29, 'exsequi sollicitando.'

⁷ *Modiam*: p. 86, n. 3.

⁸ *I.e.* the Senate.

and sent his officer¹ to Marcus Manlius. He, when summoned by order of the dictator, gave intimation to his followers that the struggle was at hand, and came to the tribunal with a great train. On this side the Senate, on that the commons, looking each to their own leader, had taken their stand as it were in order of battle. Then the dictator, when silence was made, said: 'Would that I and the Roman patricians may so agree with the commons in all other matters as I am well assured we shall agree so far as relates to you and to this business on which I am about to question you. I see that hopes have been held out by you to the state that debts may be paid off, without shaking public credit,² out of the Gallic treasures, which [you assert] the leaders of the patricians are concealing. To this proceeding I am so far from being an obstacle that on the contrary I exhort you, Marcus Manlius, to deliver the Roman commons from usury, and to drag from their secret prey those men who are brooding³ on the public treasures. Unless you do this (whether in order that you yourself, too, may have a share in the spoil,⁴ or because the information is groundless), I will order you to be led to prison, and will not any longer allow the multitude to be agitated by you with delusive hopes.' In reply to this, Manlius said 'that it had not escaped him that a dictator had been appointed, not against the Volscians, enemies as often as it was convenient for the patricians, nor against the Latins and Hernicans, whom they drive to arms by false accusations, but against himself and the Roman commons: dropping the war, which was only feigned, an attack was now made upon him, the dictator had now taken upon himself the patronage of usurers against the commons, and now, out of the favour of the people, a charge and means of

¹ *Viatores*: Cic. *De Sen.* xvi. 56, 'a villa in senatum arcescebantur et Curius et ceteri senes: ex quo qui eos arcescebant *viatores* nominati sunt.' *Signum*: p. 149, n. 3.

² *Fide incolumi*: (abl. abs.) p. 146, n. 4.

³ *Incubantes publicis thesauris*: Verg. *G.* ii. 507. 'Condit opes alius, defossoque incubat auro.' *Aen.* vi. 610.

⁴ *In parte praedae eis*: p. 57, n. 3.

destruction were sought against him. 'Does the crowd that surrounds my person,' said he, 'offend you, Aulus Cornelius, and you, Conscript Fathers? Why do you not withdraw¹ it from me, each of you, separately, by your generous acts, by becoming surety, by rescuing your fellow-citizens from bonds, by preventing those against whom judgment has been given, and who have been handed over to their creditors, from being led away to gaol, or by sustaining the necessities of others out of the abundance of your own wealth? But why do I exhort you to spend out of your own property?² Take the rest of the capital,³ but deduct from the principal what has been paid in interest; immediately will my crowd of attendants be not a whit more conspicuous⁴ than that of anyone else. But, you may ask,⁵ why do I thus alone have any care for my fellow-citizens? I have nothing more to answer than if you were to ask why, just as alone, did I save the Capitol and the citadel? Then I afforded what aid I could to all collectively; now will I afford it to each individually. For as for the Gallic treasures, the form of the question renders difficult a matter which is in its own nature easy. For why do you ask that which you know? Why do you bid that which is in your own bosoms rather be shaken out⁶ than lay it down yourselves, unless some fraud lurks behind?⁷ The more you bid your own tricks be examined, the more I fear lest you rob the investigators even of their eyes. Therefore, it is not I that am to be compelled by you to reveal your plunder, but you that ought to be forced to produce it publicly.'

16. When the dictator bade him lay aside evasion,⁸ and

¹ *Quin eam diducitis* = 'qui fit ut non diducatis?'

² *De vestro impendatis hortor?* sub. *est*.

³ *Sortem reliquam forte*: be content with what remains of the principal after the interest already paid has been deducted from it.

⁴ *Conspicior*: p. 61, n. 3.

⁵ *At enim*: p. 114, n. 4.

⁶ *Sinu*, the fold of the toga across the breast, in which articles were carried as in a pocket. From shaking this to see whether there is anything in it *excutere* comes to mean 'search' generally.

⁷ *Subest*, is at the bottom of it all.

⁸ *Ambages*: p. 46, n. 8.

tried to compel him either to carry his information into effect¹ if it were true, or to confess the guilt of having accused the Senate² on a false charge, and of having exposed them to the odium of a theft which they had never committed, he ordered him—as he declared that he would not speak at the will of his enemies—to be led away to prison. Being arrested by the officer, he said: ‘O Jupiter, best and greatest, and Queen Juno and Minerva, and ye other gods and goddesses who make your home in the Capitol and the citadel,³ do ye suffer your soldier and protector to be thus harassed by his enemies? Shall this right hand, by which I drove the Gauls from your temples, now be in bonds and chains?’ No man’s eyes or ears⁴ could endure the indignity [that was put upon him], but the state, above all others patient of lawful authority, had made certain [offices] unassailable⁵ even to itself; nor did either the tribunes of the commons, or the commons themselves, dare to lift their eyes or to open their mouth against the dictatorial power. On Manlius being cast into prison, it is generally said that a large part of the commons put on mourning, that many men let their hair and beard grow,⁶ and that a sorrowful crowd hung round the door of the prison. The dictator triumphed over the Volscians, and his triumph was the source of ill-feeling⁷ rather than glory, inasmuch as they murmured ‘that it

¹ *Peragere*: bring to completion, i.e. positive proof.

² *Insimulati senatus* (gen.): cf. ‘Camillus auditus imperator,’ ch. 2. *Oblatas* (senatui): thrown in their teeth.

³ *Qui Capitolium arcemque incolitis*: p. 90, n. 1, p. 108, n. 5. *Incolere* is the regular word for the inhabitation of any locality by a god: ‘incola Pythius’ (i.e. Apollo), Hor.

⁴ *Nullius nec oculi nec aures*: a general negative is often split up into factors, each, as well as the main proposition, having a negative sign: i. 36, ‘negare Attus Navius . . . neque mutari neque novum constitui . . . posse:’ ii. 45, ‘nolle successum non patribus, non consilibus.’ Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 8, ‘neminem neque servum, neque libertum.’ Verg. *Aen.* ix. 428, ‘nihil ille nec ausus Nec potuit.’

⁵ *Invicta*: cf. ‘conspetus, indomitus’ (Hor. *C.* II. xiv. 4), and Milton’s ‘Like Teneriffe or Atlas unremoved.’ The dictatorial authority is called ‘invictum’ viii. 34, *init.*

⁶ *Promissae*: p. 95, n. 1.

⁷ *Invidiae* is the dat., p. 22, n. 4. *De cive*: p. 49, n. 5.

had been won at home, not in the field, and was held for a citizen, not an enemy: only one thing was lacking for his arrogance, that Marcus Manlius was not led before¹ his chariot. And now matters were not far from mutiny, for the sake of appeasing which the Senate, without anyone asking it, suddenly became bountiful of their own accord, and ordered a colony of two thousand Roman citizens to be led to Satricum. Two *iugera* and a half² of land were allotted to each: but as they considered this both scanty, conferred only on a few, and a bribe for betraying Marcus Manlius, the disaffection was irritated by the remedy. And now the crowd that favoured Manlius was more conspicuous than ever in the squalid dress and appearance³ of men on trial, and the removal of terror, by the resignation of the dictatorship after the triumph, had loosened the tongues and thoughts of men.

17. Expressions, therefore, were openly listened to from men who reproached the multitude 'because by their favour they always raise their defenders to a precipice and then desert them in the very crisis of peril':⁴ thus had Spurius Cassius,⁵ while inviting the commons to [a share in] the public lands, thus had Spurius Maelius been ruined, while warding off famine from the mouth of his fellow-citizens at his own expense:⁶ thus had Marcus Manlius, while drawing forth to liberty and light a part of the state that was plunged and overwhelmed in usury, been betrayed to his enemies. The commons fattened their popular leaders that they might be slaughtered. Was this to be suffered⁷ if a man of con-

¹ *Ante currum ductus*: as captured enemies were: ch. 4, *init.*; p. 75, n. 4.

² *Somisses* (*semi, as*) = $\frac{2}{12}$ = $\frac{1}{6}$: cf. p. 63, n. 2.

³ *Facie*: i.e. 'capillo ac barba promissa.'—Drakenb.

⁴ *In ipso discrimine periculi*: at the decisive point: *discr.* from *discernere*.

⁵ *Sp. Cassium*: ii. 41; *Sp. Maelium*, iv. 13. Both these men, like most of those who endeavoured to win back the people's rights from the patricians, paid for their daring with their lives. See Introduction.

⁶ *Famem suis impensis propulsantem*: by distributing corn gratis in time of famine.

⁷ *Hocce patiendum fuisse*: question of *oratio obliqua*.

sular rank did not answer to the nod of a dictator? Suppose¹ that he had lied before, and therefore had had nothing to reply then: what slave had ever suffered imprisonment as the punishment of falsehood? Was there before their minds no memory of that night which had almost been the last and an eternal one to the Roman name? nor the sight of the band of Gauls climbing up by the Tarpeian rock? nor of Marcus Manlius himself, as they had seen him, armed, covered with sweat and blood, having in a manner rescued Jove himself from the hands of the enemy? Was recompense made to the saviour of their fatherland with half-pounds of corn²? and would they suffer a man whom they had made almost divine—in surname,³ at least, the equal of Capitoline Jove—to drag on an existence subject to the will of a hangman, in chains, in prison, and in darkness? Had there, indeed,⁴ been in one single man sufficient help for all, and was there in so many no aid for one?' The crowd did not now disperse from that spot⁵ even by night, and began to threaten that they would break open the prison, when that which they were about to seize by force was yielded to them, and, by a decree of the Senate, Manlius was released from prison; whereby the disaffection was not ended, but only a leader supplied to it. About the same time a stern answer was given to the Latins and Hernicans, and at the same time to the colonists of Circeii and from Velitrae, on their endeavouring to clear themselves of the charge of [taking part in] the Volscian war, and demanding back the prisoners that they might punish them according to their own laws: a still sterner one to the colonists, because they, citizens of Rome, had entered on the infamous design of attacking their country. Not only,

¹ *Fingerent*: imperative of *orat. obliqua*.

² *Sedbris farris*: v. 47, *sub finem*.

³ *Cognomine*: implying that Manlius had received this surname for his services; but it had really been a family name before, from the fact of a branch of the Manlii dwelling in the Capitol, ch. 20, *sub fin.*: iv. 42.

⁴ *Adeo* refers to the whole clause, not to any particular word.

⁵ *I.e.* the entrance of the prison.

therefore, was a refusal given them about the prisoners, but (a point, however, which they had refrained from in the case of the allies) warning was given them in the name of the Senate that they should depart¹ from the city without delay, from the faces and eyes of the Roman people, lest the law of embassy, provided for the foreigner, not the citizen, should be no protection to them.

18. The disturbance caused by Manlius breaking out afresh, about the end of the year elections were held, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis for the second time, Publius Valerius Potitus a second time, Marcus Furius Camillus a fifth time, Servius Sulpicius Rufus a second time, Gaius Papirius Crassus, and Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus a second time, were appointed military tribunes with consular power. At the beginning of this year peace abroad was given very seasonably both for the patricians and for the commons; for the commons because, not being called away by a levy, they conceived the hope, while they had so powerful a leader, of destroying usury; for the patricians, so that their minds might not be called away by any alarm abroad from reforming the bad state of things at home. As both parties, therefore, bestirred themselves much more fiercely than before, the struggle was now close at hand. And Manlius, summoning the commons to his house, day and night discusses plans of revolution with the leading men, being filled with spirit and resentment far more than he had before been. His recent disgrace had kindled rage in a heart unused to insults;² spirit was given him by the fact that neither had the dictator dared [to do] against him what Quinctius Cincinnatus³ had done in the case of Spurius Maelius,⁴ and that not

¹ *Facesserent*: imperative of *orat. obl.*

² *Inexperto ad contumeliam*: x. 22, 'ad verborum linguaeque certamina rudes:' xxi. 25, 'gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis.'

³ *Cincinnatus Quinctius*: the order of the names reversed: v. 32, 'Agrippa Furius.' Tac. *Ann.* i. 8, 'Messalla Valerius.' Hor. *C. II.* ii. 3, 'Crispe Sallusti;' xi. 2, 'Hirpine Quinti.'

⁴ Maelius had been put to death by order of Cincinnatus.

only had the dictator shrunk from the popular feeling against his imprisonment by resigning the dictatorship, but even the Senate had not been able to bear up against it. Elated by this, and at the same time embittered, he began to urge on the minds of the commons, already inflamed of themselves. 'How much longer, in the name of heaven, will you remain ignorant of your own strength, which Nature has willed that not even the beasts should not know? Reckon up, at any rate, how many you are yourselves, how many adversaries you have. If each one of you were to have to attack one [opponent], still I would believe that you will fight for liberty with more courage than they for dominion over you: as were your numbers when clients around each single patron, such will they be now against one single enemy. Only make a show of war: you will have peace. Let them see you prepared for force: they will yield you your rights of their own accord. Collectively, you must venture to do something; or, individually, you must suffer everything. How long will you look to me? I, indeed, will fail none of you; do you see that my fortune fail not. I, your champion, when it seemed good to my enemies, suddenly was nothing:⁴ one and all you saw the man led away to bonds who had protected each one of you from bonds. What am I to hope, if my enemies venture more against me? Am I to look for the end of Cassius and Maelius? You do right to reject the idea.² The gods will forbid it: but never will they descend from heaven on my account:³ they must give you the will to prevent it, as they gave to me, as a soldier and as a citizen, [the resolution] to defend you from barbarous enemies and haughty citizens. Is the spirit of so great a people so small that aid against

¹ *Nullus fui*: iii. 68, 'in concordia ordinum nullos se usquam esse vident': iv. 3, 'patre nullo, matre serva.' Hor. S. I. vi. 10, 'viros nullis maioribus ortos.' Cf. 'ingens haberi,' p. 50, n. 1.

² *Abominamini*: deprecate as an evil omen, Gr. ἀποκρίβειν. Eur. Hec. 1276. Cf. Liv. xxx. 25, 'cum dixisset sepulcrum dirutum proram spectare, abominatus,' &c.

³ *Nunquam propter me*, &c.: cf. v. 11 (end), 'nunquam deos ipsos admovere nocentibus manus: satis esse, si occasione ulciscendi laesos arment.'

your enemies is always enough for you, and that you know no other contest against the patricians except how far you may allow them to be your lords¹? Nor is this implanted in you by nature, but ye are their possession by custom. For why do you show such spirit against foreigners as to think it right and proper to bear rule over them? Because you have been accustomed to fight with them for supremacy: against these men to try for liberty rather than to defend it. Nevertheless, whatever kind of leaders you have had, whatever you have been yourselves, hitherto you have obtained everything, how great soever the objects you have sought, either by force or by your good fortune. It is now time to attempt greater things. Only put to the test both your own good luck and me, who have already, as I hope, been tested favourably: with less difficulty will you impose on the patricians some one to rule *them* than you have imposed on them some to resist their rule.² Dictatorships and consulships must be levelled with the ground, that the Roman commons may be able to raise their head. Stand by me, therefore; prevent any sentence from being given on pecuniary matters: I profess myself the patron³ of the commons—a name with which my solicitude and fidelity invest me: if you will style your leader by any more distinguished name of authority or honour, you will employ him as still more competent to obtain that which you wish.' From this, his first attempt at endeavouring to grasp regal power⁴ is said to have arisen; but no sufficiently clear account is handed down to us, either with whom [he acted] or to what extent his designs reached.

¹ *Quatenus imperari vobis*: 'imp.' is impersonal passive: 'quousque imperium in vos extendi sinatis.'

² *Qui resisterent*: i.e. the tribunes of the commons.

³ *Patronum*: p. 37, n. 2.

⁴ *De regno agendi*: by the hint that if he (Manlius) possessed absolute power he would be better able to serve the commons. The Greek *ῥεπαρροι* mostly seized their power by espousing the cause of the lower classes against the dominant oligarchy; but we must remember that the designs attributed to Manlius rest solely on the traditional testimony of his enemies.

19.

But on the other side the Senate began to debate about the secession of the commons into a private house (and that, as it happened, situated in the citadel¹) and about the great danger that threatened liberty. A great part cry out that they need a Servilius Ahala,² who would not irritate the public enemy by ordering him to be led to prison, but would end intestine war with the loss of only one citizen. Recourse was had to a resolution milder in words but having the same force, 'that the magistrates should see that the commonwealth took no harm from the pernicious designs of Marcus Manlius.'³ Then the tribunes with consular power and the tribunes of the commons (for they, too, had put themselves at the disposal of the Senate, because they saw that the end of the liberty of all and of their own power would be the same)—all these,⁴ then, consult as to what ought to be done. When nothing suggested itself to anyone except violence and bloodshed, while it was evident that that would be attended with great strife,⁵ then Marcus Menenius and Quintus Publilius, tribunes of the commons [said]: 'Why do we make that a contest between the patricians and the commons which ought to be one of the state against a single pestilent citizen? Why do we attack, together with the commons, one whom it is safer to attack through the commons themselves, so that he may fall overpowered by his own strength?'⁶ It is our intention to appoint him a day of trial. Nothing

¹ *In arce positam*: p. 157, n. 3.

² *Servilio Ahala*: the slayer of Sp. Maelius: iv. 14.

³ *Ut videant magistratus*, etc.: iii. 4. See Introduction. It was a formal decree conferring dictatorial power on the magistrates in cases of great emergency ('quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet,' Sall. *Cat.* 29). 'Ea potestas,' says Sallust, 'per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur: exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives, domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter, sine iussu populi, nulli earum rerum consuli ius est.'

⁴ *Hæ*, repeating the subject after a parenthesis: i. 49 (*sub fin.*), i. 58 (*sub fin.*), iii. 58 (*init.*) *Tum* is used in the same way, i. 40 (*sub init.*).

⁵ *Eam ingentis dimicationis fore*: p. 20, n. 4.

⁶ *Ruat*: Hor. *C.* III. iv. 65, 'Vis consili expers mole ruit sua.' *Ruere* means 'rush headlong to destruction:' Gr. *ῥῥῶ*.

is less popular than royal power. As soon as the multitude shall perceive that this struggle is not with themselves, and instead of supporters¹ of the accused they become judges, and shall see the prosecutors are from the commons and the defendant a patrician, and that the charge in question² is [one of grasping at] regal power, they will favour nothing more than their own liberty.'

20. With the approbation of all, they name a day of trial for Manlius. When this was done, the commons at first were excited, especially when they saw the defendant in mourning dress,³ and with him not only none of the patricians but not even his kinsmen and relations,⁴ above all⁵ not even his brothers Aulus and Titus Manlius: a thing which till that day had never occurred, that at so critical a time⁶ a man's nearest friends did not put on mourning with him.⁷ When Appius Claudius was taken to prison [they remarked] Gaius Claudius,⁸ his personal enemy,⁹ and all the Claudian clan had been in mourning: a friend of the people was now being crushed by a conspiracy, because he was the first that had gone over from the patricians to the commons.¹⁰ When the day came, I find in no author what acts were urged by the prosecutors against the defendant properly relating to the charge of [aspiring

¹ *Advocatis*: iii. 46, 'advocati puellae': friends who encouraged one on trial by their presence and advice, without actually pleading.

² *In medio*: before us. *Regni*: p. 15, n. 3.

³ *Sordidatum*: ch. 16 (*sub fin.*), 'sordibus et facie reorum.'

⁴ *Affines*: p. 38, n. 3. *Cognati* are persons who trace their descent from one common ancestor: rather more definite than *propinqui*, which is a general term.

⁵ *Postremo*: p. 27, n. 8.

⁶ *Discrimine* = 'periculo': p. 156, n. 4.

⁷ *Et*: i.e. as well as the accused.

⁸ *App. Claudio in vinoula ducto*: iii. 56 (*init.*). *C. Claudium*: *ib.* 58.

⁹ *Inimicus* is a private enemy: *hostis* (etymologically connected with *hospes* and signifying orig. 'a stranger') is a national foe: but the distinction is not always observed.

¹⁰ *Primus*, &c.: ch. 11 (*mid.*) 'primus omnium ex patribus popularis factus.'

to] regal power, except the assemblies¹ of the multitude, his seditious expressions, and his lavishness and his false information;² nor do I doubt that these were not small, since the people's delay in condemning him was not due to the cause itself but the place [of trial].³ The following fact seems noteworthy, that men may know how many and how great honours his depraved lust of regal power rendered not only unpleasing but even hateful: he is said to have produced nearly four hundred men to whom he had paid money⁴ without interest, whose goods he had prevented being sold and whom [he had saved] from being handed over to their creditors and led to prison; besides this, he not only recounted his warlike honours also, but even produced them before their eyes—spoils of slain enemies up to thirty, gifts from commanders up to forty, amongst which two mural and eight civic crowns⁵ were conspicuous. In addition, he brought forward the citizens saved from the enemy, amongst them naming Gaius Servilius (now absent) when he had been master of the horse: and when he had also related his exploits in war in a lofty speech corresponding to the dignity of the actions, equalling his deeds with his eloquence, [he is said] to have bared his breast marked with scars received in war, and ever and anon, looking to the Capitol, he called down Jove and other gods to the assistance of his fortunes, and prayed that the same sentiments which they had given to himself when protecting the citadel of the Capitol for the safety of the Roman people, they would now put into the hearts of the Roman people in his extremity; and he besought one and all to pass

¹ *Coetus* = *coitus*, fr. *con*, *ire*. *Obiecta* : p. 26, n. 2.

² *Indicium* : *i.e.* of the embezzlement of the Gallic ransom by the patricians.

³ *In loco* : because from it they could see the Capitol, the scene of his glory.

⁴ *Expensas pecunias tulisset* : *i.e.* 'in tabulas expensarum referre pecuniam alicui datam' (Stroth.): just the reverse of 'acceptum referre,' p. 16, n. 6. *Venire* : p. 17, n. 9.

⁵ *Murales coronas*, for being the first to mount the enemies' walls in an assault: *civicas*, for saving the lives of citizens in battle.

judgment on him with their eyes fixed on the Capitol and citadel, with their faces turned to the immortal gods. As the people were summoned by centuries in the Field of Mars,¹ and the accused, stretching his hand towards the Capitol, turned his prayers from men to the gods, it became evident to the tribunes that unless they released men's eyes also from the memory of such glory there would be no room for the charge, however true, in minds prejudiced by his good service. Thus the day of trial being adjourned,² an assembly of the people was appointed to meet in the Poeteline Grove outside the Flumentane gate, from whence there would be no view of the Capitol. There the charge prevailed, and, with inexorable hearts, a fatal sentence, horrible even to the judges, was passed. There are some who state that he was condemned by two commissioners appointed to enquire into the charge of treason.³ The tribunes hurled him down from the Tarpeian rock,⁴ and with this one man the same place was a monument both of extraordinary glory and of extreme punishment. Marks of infamy were put upon him when dead: one a public one, because, as his house had been where the temple and office of Moneta⁵ now are, it was proposed to the people that no patrician should dwell in the citadel or Capitol; the other affecting his family, as precautions were taken, by a decree of the Manlian family,⁶ that no one should thenceforth be called Marcus Manlius. Such was the end which a man met with who, had he not been born in a free state, deserved great distinction. In a short time, when there was no danger from him, the people, remembering only his virtues, were seized

¹ The Campus Martius, the mustering-place of the 'comitia centuriata' (which was a *military* organisation at first), lay between the north of the city and the Tiber.

² *Prodicta die*: ii. 61 (*sub fin.*), iii. 57 (*mid.*). 'Diem prodicere est diem dictam proferre, promovere.'

³ *Per duumvros qui de perduellione anquirerent*: i. 26.

⁴ *De saxo Tarpeio*: one of the heights of the Capitoline hill, whence traitors were hurled.

⁵ *Officina Monetae*: i.e. the Mint.

⁶ *Gentis Manliae* may be gov. by *quis*: if gov. by *decreto* the latter cannot be taken in a formal and technical sense.

with regret for him. A pestilence also which soon followed, without any causes of such a calamity appearing, seemed to a great many to have arisen from the punishment of Manlius: the Capitol [they thought] had been polluted by the blood of its deliverer, nor was it pleasing to the gods that the punishment of him by whom their temples had been saved from the hand of the enemy should have been almost brought before their eyes.

The pestilence was succeeded by a scarcity of the fruits of the earth, and the spreading of the report of both misfortunes by a complicated war in the following year, when Lucius Valerius for the fourth time, Aulus Manlius for the third time, Servius Sulpicius for the third time, Lucius Lucretius, Lucius Aemilius a third time, and Marcus Trebonius were military tribunes with consular power. Besides the Volscians (who were assigned, as it were, by some fatality to give almost perpetual employment to the Roman troops), and the colonies of Circeii and Velitrae, now long meditating¹ revolt, and Latium, already suspected, new enemies also suddenly sprang up in the people of Lanuvium, which had been a most faithful city.² Thinking that this was done from contempt, because the revolt of the Velitrans, their own citizens, had been so long unpunished, the Senate decreed that at the first opportunity a proposal to declare war on them should be laid before the people. In order that the commons might be the readier for this service, they appointed five commissioners for dividing the Pomptine land, and three for conducting a colony to Nepete. Then it was proposed to the people that they should vote for war, and the tribunes of the commons remonstrating in vain, all the tribes voted for war. That year preparations were made for the war, but on account of the pestilence the army was not led out [into the field]; and this delay gave the colonists time for making their submis-

21.

¹ *Molientes* = κατασκευάζοντες.

² *Lanuvini, quae fidelissima urbs fuerat*: p. 31, n. 5: and cf. ch. 3 (*init.*), 'Sutrium, socios populi Romani.'

sion to the Senate, and a great many men were inclined to this [concession], that a suppliant embassy should be sent to Rome, had not the public, as is usually the case, been involved in private danger, and the authors of the revolt from the Romans, through fear lest they alone should be held answerable for the crime and surrendered to appease the wrath of the Romans, dissuaded the colonies from counsels of peace. And not only was the sending an embassy arrested by their means in the Senate, but a large part of the commons were egged on to make excursions for plunder into the Roman territory. This new wrong broke off all hopes of peace. A rumour also first arose in this year of a revolt of the Praenestines; and when the Tusculans, Gabines, and Lavicans, into whose territories incursions had been made, accused them of it, so mild an answer was returned by the Senate that it was clear that less credit was given to the charges because they were unwilling for them to be true.

22. The following year Spurius and Lucius Papirius, the new military tribunes with consular power, led the legions to Velitrae, leaving their four colleagues, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis for the third time, Quintus Servilius, Gaius Sulpicius, Lucius Aemilius for the fourth time, to guard the city, and in case¹ any new disturbance should be announced from Etruria, for everything in that quarter was suspected. At Velitrae, against auxiliaries of the Praenestines, almost more numerous than even the numbers of the colonists, they fought a successful battle in such a way that the nearness of the city was to the enemy the cause of an earlier flight, and also their only refuge after the flight. The tribunes refrained from an attack on the town because it was uncertain, and because they thought that the struggle should not be continued to the utter ruin of the colony. A letter was sent to Rome to the Senate with the news of the victory more bitter in tone against the Praenestine enemy than against the Velitran. Accordingly, by a decree of the Senate and the order of

¹ *Sc*: p. 95, n. 4.

the people, war was declared against the Praenestines, who, in the ensuing year, united with the Volscians, took Satricum, a colony of the Roman people, by storm, after an obstinate defence by the colonists, and made a shameful use of their victory on¹ the prisoners. Enraged at this proceeding, the Romans made Marcus Furius Camillus military tribune a sixth time. Aulus and Lucius Postumius Regillensis and Lucius Furius, together with Lucius Lucretius and Marcus Fabius Ambustus, were given to him as colleagues. The Volscian war was decreed to Marcus Furius out of the regular course;² Lucius Furius was assigned his assistant by lot out of the [other] tribunes, [a matter which was] not so much for the good of the state as destined to be a source³ of every kind of praise to his colleague, both on public grounds, because he restored their fortunes when overthrown by the rashness of the other, and as an individual, because from the other's blunder he sought his gratitude rather than his own glory. Camillus was now of advanced age, and at the election [only] the unanimous wish of the people had checked him when preparing to swear⁴ to the usual declaration for excusing himself on the ground of his health;⁵ but his vigorous⁶ mind was as strong as ever in his ardent breast, and he was in full possession of unimpaired faculties, and war roused him, though he did not now engage much in civil affairs. Enrolling four legions, of four thousand

¹ *In captis*: in the case of, with regard to, the prisoners: p. 88, n. 3. Cf. iii. 17, 'ausurum se in tribunis quod princeps familiae suae ausus in regibus esset;' v. 2, 'quod tr. mil. in plebe Romana regnum exerceant?' *ib.* 11. (*sub fin.*), 'in iis sua potestate, cum liceat et oporteat, non uti.'

² *Extra ordinem*: *i.e.* 'sine sorte aut comparatione:' by an arbitrary decree of the Senate: vi. 30 (*sub init.*), 'Volsci provincia sine sorte, sine comparatione, extra ordinem data.'

³ *Materia*: p. 140, n. 3.

⁴ *Iurare in verba*: p. 131, n. 2.

⁵ *Excusandae valetudini*: to plead ill-health as an excuse for not doing anything: iii. 13, 'cum excusaretur solum vertisse' (*i.e.* 'excusandi gratia afferretur id, quod solum mutavisset'). Cic. *Phil.* v. 5, 14, 'excusetur Areopagites esse.'

⁶ *Vegetum*, &c.: notice the alliteration. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 834, 'neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires.'

men each,¹ and ordering the army to muster at² the Esquiline gate on the following day, he set out to Satricum. There the conquerors of the colony, nothing daunted, were waiting for him, trusting to the number of their men, in which they were considerably superior. When they saw that the Romans were approaching, they marched out immediately to the field, resolved to make no delay in risking their fate, [believing] that thus the skill of their unrivalled commander,³ to which alone they trusted, would be no advantage to the small numbers of the enemy.

23.

The same ardour was felt in the Roman army, and in one of the two generals, nor did anything delay the fortune of immediate battle except the sagacity and authority of one man, who sought, by protracting the war, an opportunity of aiding their strength by skill. On this account the enemy pressed them the harder, and now not only did they draw up their line of battle before the camp, but advanced into the middle of the plain, and showed off their haughty confidence in their strength by throwing up a rampart close to the standards of the enemy. The Roman troops were irritated at this, and one of the two military tribunes, Lucius Furius, much more than the rest, being fiery by age and temper, and at the same time elated by the hopes entertained by the multitude, who derive encouragement from the most uncertain grounds. This [officer] still further instigated the soldiers, who were already excited of themselves, by disparaging the authority of his colleague on the ground of his age,⁴ the only point wherein he could do so, continually asserting 'that wars were assigned to young men, and that men's minds flourish and fade together with their bodies; that from a most eager warrior he had become a laggard, and he who on his very arrival was wont to seize camps and cities at

¹ *Quaternum* = 'quaternorum.'

² *Indicto ad portam Esquilinam* : p. 147, n. 1.

³ *I.e.* Camillus.

⁴ *Actate* = 'ob causam exactae aetatis.' *Elevando* : 'levem reddendo : ' trying to render weak : ix. 37, 6, 'elevat Etruscos.'

the first rush, now wasted the time inactive within the rampart. What accession to his own strength, or diminution of that of the enemy did he expect? What chance, what lucky moment, what opportunity for practising stratagem? The old man's counsels were cold and sluggish. But Camillus had enough both of life and of glory. What use was it¹ to suffer the strength of the state, which ought to be immortal, to sink into old age along with one mortal body?' By these speeches he had attracted the whole camp to himself; and when battle was demanded in every quarter, he said: 'We cannot resist the impetuosity² of the men, Marcus Furius, and the enemy, whose courage we have increased by our delaying, now insults us with intolerable insolence; do you, being but one, yield to all, and suffer yourself to be overcome in council in order that you may the sooner overcome in war.' To this Camillus replied, 'that in none of all the wars which had been waged up to that day under his single³ auspices had either⁴ he himself or the Roman people been dissatisfied either with his judgment or his fortune. He knew now that he had a colleague, equal to himself in authority and power, and superior in vigour of age. As for the army, therefore, he had been accustomed to rule, not to be ruled; but he could not interfere with his colleague's authority. Let him do, with the good aid of the gods, what he thought to be for the interest of the state. He himself requested for his advanced age the indulgence of not being in the front line. Whatever were the duties of an old man in war, he would not fail them. This he begged of the immortal gods, that no mischance might render his own plan preferable.' His salutary opinion was not listened to by men, nor such pious prayers by the gods. The adviser of the battle drew up the front line; Camillus arranged the supports in regular order, and posted a strong guard

¹ *Quid attinere* = 'quid opus esse'; xxiii, 3, 'quia nec eosdem nominari attinebat.'

² *Sustinere impetum*: or, 'delay the attack': p. 100, n. 3.

³ *Suo unius* = 'sui unius.' Cf. τὰ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ κακὰ.

⁴ *Negare neque se neque P. R.*: p. 155, n. 4.

before the camp: he himself took his stand on some rising ground as a spectator, anxiously awaiting the issue of a plan which he did not approve.

24.

As soon as the arms clashed at the first encounter, the enemy, from stratagem not from fear, gave ground. There was a gentle slope in their rear, between the army and the camp, and because sufficient numbers were at their disposal,¹ they had left in the camp several strong cohorts armed and drawn up in readiness, which were to rush forth in the midst of the struggle, as soon as it was well begun, when the enemy approached the rampart. The Romans, drawn into disadvantageous ground by following the retreating enemy in disorder, were exposed² to this sally. Terror in consequence was turned upon the victor both by the fresh enemy and the sloping side of the valley,³ and caused the Roman line to give way. The fresh troops of the Volscians, who had made the attack from their camp, press them close; those also who had retreated in pretended flight, renew the battle. The Roman soldiers no longer tried to recover themselves; but, unmindful of their recent presumption and their old renown, were turning their backs in every direction, and making their way back to the camp with disorderly haste, when Camillus, being lifted on to his horse⁴ by those around him, and hastily drawing up the reserves to stop⁵ [the flight] said: 'Is this, soldiers, the battle which you demanded? What man, what god is there whom you can blame? Then it was your rashness, now it is your cowardice. You have followed another leader, now follow Camillus, and, as ye are wont to do under my leadership, conquer. Why do you look to the rampart and the camp? Not one of you shall

¹ *Suppeditabat*: frequentative of *suppetere*; p. 68, n. 4.

² *Opportunus*: i. 54, 'alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos' (*i.e.* 'ad oppugnandum') 'interemit,' vii. 23 (mid.), 'opportuniores' (*i.e.* 'impetui').

³ *Supina valle*: v. 43, 'ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte in hostem inferebat.' This explains why a valley is spoken of as an active agent.

⁴ *Subiectus in equum*: xxxi. 37, 'ipse desiluit pavidumque regem in equum subiecit.' Verg. *Aen.* xii. 287, 'corpora saltu subiciunt in equos.'

⁵ *Oppositis*: p. 26, n. 2.

they receive except as a victor.' Shame at first checked them in their headlong flight; then, when they saw the standards wheeled round, and a line drawn up to face the enemy, and when the general, who, besides being distinguished by so many triumphs, was venerable also by his age, showed himself among the foremost standards, where the greatest toil and danger was, everyone began to reproach himself and others, and mutual encouragement with an eager shout ran through the whole line. Nor was the other tribune behindhand; but being sent by his colleague, who was restoring the line of the infantry, to the cavalry, not by rebuking¹ them (a thing for which his share in their fault had rendered him an authority of little weight), but turning altogether from command to entreaties, he began to beg them, one and all, to save from blame him who was answerable for the events of that day. 'When my colleague refused and tried to hinder me, I gave myself a partner in the rashness of all rather than in the prudence of one. In either issue of your fortunes,² Camillus sees his own glory; but as for me, unless the battle is restored, I shall feel the result with all, but the infamy alone; a most wretched thing.' It was thought best that the horses should not be thrust into the line,³ which was still unsteady, and that they should attack the enemy by fighting on foot. Distinguished by their arms and courage, they proceed to whatever quarter they see the infantry forces hardest pressed. Neither among the leaders nor the soldiers is there any abatement of the

¹ *Non castigando* ['agere': historical inf.].

² *In utraque fortuna*: victory or defeat.

³ The reading given in Madvig's text, 'in fluctuantem aciem tradi equos,' is unintelligible: I have translated as though instead of 'tradi' we had 'non trudi' (Madvig's conjecture); but that of Gronovius is simpler: 'inter fluctuantem aciem tradi equos.' In this case *inter fl. ac.* = 'interea, dum fluctuat' (p. 149, n. 2) 'acies; *tradi equos*, sc. calonibus custodiendos: 'as the line wavered, the knights dismounted, giving their horses to their attendants to hold, while they themselves fought on foot.' Cf. vii. 7, 8, 'postquam equestris pugna . . . vanior erat, . . . equites, . . . relictis equis, . . . novam integrant pugnam; ix. 39, 8, 'equites Romani, omissis equis, ad primos ordines peditum . . . evaserint.' Verg. *Aen.* xi. 710, 'tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis.'

utmost efforts of courage. The result, therefore, felt the influence of the valour exerted; and the Volscians, routed [and put] to real flight in the same direction as they had lately retreated in feigned fear, were cut down, a great part of them, both in the combat itself and afterwards in the flight; the rest [were cut to pieces] in the camp, which was captured in the same onset. More, however, were taken than slain.

25.

Here, several Tusculans being recognised in taking an account of the prisoners, they were separated from the others and brought before the tribunes, and confessed, on questions being put to them, that they had served with the knowledge of the state. Disturbed by fear of a war so near home, Camillus said that he would immediately take the prisoners to Rome, that the Senate might not be ignorant that the Tusculans had seceded from the alliance: his colleague, if he thought proper, should command the camp and the army in the meantime. One day had been a warning to him not to prefer his own counsels to better: it did not, however, seem likely either to himself or to anyone in the army that Camillus would bear ¹ with quite forgiving feelings that fault of his whereby the commonwealth had been placed in so perilous a position; ² and both in the army and at Rome the reports of all were unanimous that while matters had been managed among the Volscians with various success, the fault of the defeat and flight lay with Lucius Furius, the whole credit of the victory with Marcus Furius. The prisoners were brought before the Senate; and on the Fathers resolving that the Tusculans should be punished with war and entrusting that war to Camillus, he requested one assistant for himself for the business, and, receiving permission ³ to choose from his colleagues whom he would, contrary to the expectation of all he chose Lucius Furius; a moderation of feeling by which he diminished the

¹ *Laturus culpam*: p. 70, n. 5.

² *In praecepitem casum*: ch. 17 (*init.*), 'in praecepitem locum favore tollat.'

³ *Permisso*: abl. abs., impers. part. pass.

disgrace of his colleague, and at the same time acquired great glory for himself. There was, however, no war with the Tuscans: by steady adherence to peace they warded off the force of Rome, which they could not have done by arms. When the Romans entered their territory, no removals were made from the places bordering on their route: the cultivation of the fields was not interrupted: the gates of the city lay wide open and men in the garb of peace¹ came forth in crowds to meet the commanders: supplies for the army were courteously conveyed into the camp from the city and the country. Camillus, pitching his camp before the gates, and desiring to know whether the same appearance of peace as was displayed in the country existed also within the walls, entered the city, where he saw the doors² wide open and everything publicly exposed for sale in the open shops, workmen intent each on his own work, the schools of learning buzzing with the voices of scholars, and the streets filled, amongst the other crowd, with boys³ and women going hither and thither, where the occasions of their respective businesses called each: nothing anywhere bearing the appearance, not to say of panic, but even of surprise: he looked round everywhere, searching with his eyes [to see] where the war had been; so utterly were all traces wanting⁴ in any direction of anything having been removed or of having been brought forward for the occasion, but all was so quiet in settled peace that scarcely even the rumour of war could have been supposed to have reached thither.

Overcome, therefore, by the submissiveness of the enemy, he ordered their Senate to be summoned. 'You are the only men, Tuscans,' said he, 'that have hitherto found the true arms and the true strength whereby to protect your possessions from the anger of

26.

¹ *Togati*: ch. 18 (mid.), 'armato togatoque.'

² *Ianuas*: of houses: *portas*, gates of the city.

³ *Repletas puerorum*: *repletus* is not elsewhere found with a gen., though that construction is common with *completo*, *explere*, *implere*.—Drakenb.

⁴ *Adeo nec ullum*: cf. 'adeo nihil,' &c.

the Romans. Go to Rome to the Senate: the Fathers will decide whether you have deserved more punishment [for what you did] before, or forgiveness now. I will not anticipate¹ your gratitude for a favour that belongs to the state: from me you shall have the power of asking for mercy: the Senate will give to your prayers what issue it shall seem good to them.'² When the Tusculans came to Rome and the Senate of these who a little before had been faithful allies was seen with sorrowful looks in the ante-room of the House, the Fathers, immediately affected [at the sight], ordered them to be called in, but even then [they did so] in a friendly more than a hostile way. The Tusculan dictator³ thus spoke: 'We, against whom you declared and waged war, Conscript Fathers, went forth to meet your commanders and legions armed⁴ and equipped just as you now see us standing in the entry of your House. This was our habit and that of our commons, and always shall be, unless at any time we receive arms from you and in your defence. We return thanks both to your generals and your armies because they trusted their eyes more than their ears and did not themselves commit any hostile action where there was none [on our side]. We beg from you the peace which we have observed ourselves: we pray you to avert⁵ war to that quarter where (if anywhere) it exists.⁶ If we are to experience by actual suffering what may be the power of your arms against us, we will experience it unarmed. This is our intention: may the immortal gods render it⁷ as fortunate as it is dutiful! As for the charges by which you were induced to declare war against us,

¹ *Præcipiam*; i.e. anticipate the Roman Senate in winning their gratitude by pardoning their offence: he wished them to owe the favour not to himself but the state.

² *Quem* [dandum iis] *videretur*.

³ *Dictator Tusculanus*: see Introd. § 1, and iii. 18 (*init.*).

⁴ *Armatis*: i.e. without any arms at all.

⁵ *Avertatis precamur*: 'ut' omitted: p. 49, n. 3.

⁶ *Eo, si ubi est*: i.e. against the Volscians: the indic. shows that there was actually a war going on.

⁷ *Faciunt* [ut sit].

although it is useless¹ to refute by words what has been disproved by facts, still, even if they were true, we think it safe for us even to confess them, since we have so manifestly repented. Let our offence against you be admitted, provided only you show yourselves worthy² of receiving such satisfaction.' So much was nearly what was said by the Tusculans. They obtained peace for the present, and not very long afterwards citizenship also. The legions were withdrawn from Tusculum.

Camillus, distinguished by his prudence and courage in the Volscian war, by his success in the Tusculan expedition, and in both by his remarkable forbearance and moderation towards his colleague, went out of office, the military tribunes elected for the following year being Lucius and Publius Valerius (Lucius for the fifth and Publius for the third time), and Gaius Sergius a third time, Lucius Menenius a second time, Publius Papirius, Servius Cornelius Meluginensis. The year required censors also, chiefly on account of the uncertain reports about debt, the tribunes of the commons exaggerating³ its amount so as to make it even more hateful, while it was underrated by those whose interest it was that credit should appear to be strained rather by [the want of] good faith than of means on the part of debtors. Gaius Sulpicius Camerinus and Spurius Postumius Regillensis were made censors, and just as the task was commenced it was interrupted by the death of Postumius, because it was a bad omen⁴ for a colleague to be given to a censor in the room of one deceased. Accordingly, when Sulpicius had resigned his office, other censors, having been appointed with some irregularity, did not hold office: there was a

27.

¹ *Nihil attinet*: p. 169, n. 1.

² *I.e.* by being satisfied with it and forgiving the offence.

³ *Aggravantibus* is the reverse of *elevantibus* (p. 168, n. 4). *Invidiosius* (adv.) used proleptically, to express a result of the verb: Thuc. I. xxi. 1, *ἀξιότατοι ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ ὁδὸς ἐκνευκνέσθαι* ('which have won their way out into the region of fable, so as to be unworthy of credit').

⁴ *Religio*: v. 3†

religious scruple against appointing a third set, on the plea that the gods did not accept a censorship for that year. This mockery of the commons, however, the tribunes protested was not to be endured: 'the Senate were afraid of public notices testifying to the amount of each man's property, because they were unwilling that the total amount of debt should be seen, which would prove that one half of the state was held in subjection by the other, while¹ in the meantime the commons, crushed with debt, were exposed to one enemy after another. Wars were now sought out in every direction indiscriminately: the legions were led from Antium to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitrae, and thence to Tusculum; Latins, Hernicans, and Praenestines were now menaced with arms, more from hatred of the Roman citizens than of the enemy, in order to wear out the commons in arms and not allow them to breathe freely in the city or to think of liberty through [being left at] peace, or to stand in an assembly where at any time they might hear a tribune's voice discussing reduction of interest and the termination of other wrongs. But if there were in the commons a spirit mindful of the liberty of their fathers, they for their part would not allow any Roman citizen to be delivered up to his creditor on account of debt, nor any levy to be held, until, by an examination of debts and the adoption of some method of diminishing them, every man knew what was his own and what was another's, and whether² his person was still free or whether that too was due to bondage.' The price thus held out for sedition at once excited it. For many persons were being handed over to their creditors, and the Senate had also decreed that new legions should be enrolled, on the rumour of a Praenestine war: both of which measures began to be obstructed by the interposition of the tribunes and the unanimous determi-

¹ *Cum . . . obiectari*: ii. 27 (*init.*), 'cum Appius . . . quam asperime poterat, ius de creditis pecuniis dicere;' iv. 51, 'cum interim . . . latam legem confestim exerceri.'

² [*An*] *supersit* . . . *an*, &c.: p. 71, n. 7.

nation of the commons; for neither did the tribunes allow those assigned to their creditors to be led to prison, nor did the younger men give in their names. While the Senate felt less anxiety for the present about enforcing the law¹ of debt than about the levy (for news was now brought that the enemy, setting out from Praeneste, had encamped in the Gabine territory), in the meantime this very rumour had rather irritated the tribunes of the commons to [carry on] the struggle they had commenced than deterred them: nor was anything else strong enough to extinguish the disaffection in the city but the bringing the war up almost to the very walls.

For when tidings reached the Praenestines that no army was levied at Rome, no general fixed on, and the Senate and the commons turned upon one another, their leaders, thinking it a good opportunity, made a hasty march, and, devastating the country as they went along, they advanced their standards to the Colline Gate. Great was the alarm in the city. A cry was raised 'To arms!' and men ran together to the walls and gates, and, at length turning from sedition to war, they made Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator. He appointed Aulus Sempronius Atratinus his master of the horse. When this was heard of (so great was the terror of this magistracy), the enemy withdrew from the walls, and at the same time the young Romans assembled without resistance to the place appointed.² While the army is being levied at Rome, the enemy's camp in the meantime was pitched not far from the river Alia; laying waste the country far and wide from thence, they boasted among themselves that they had occupied a place fatal to the Roman city: there would be the same panic and flight from thence as there had been in the Gallic war: 'for,' [thought they,] 'if the Romans dread the day which was polluted by religious scruples and noted by the name of that place, how much more

28.

¹ *Iuris consequendi*: p. 38, n. 1.

² *Ad edictum* [locum]: or, on proclamation being made: *qf.* 'ad Praenestini famam belli,' last chapter.

would they be likely to fear the Alia itself, the monument of so great a disaster, than ¹ the day of the Alia? There assuredly the fierce look of the Gauls and the sound of their voice would be present to their eyes and ears.' Pondering these idle thoughts of idle things, they had committed ² their hopes to the fortune of the place. The Romans, on the other hand, knew well that wherever there was a Latin enemy, there was one whom, after his utter defeat at Lake Regillus,³ they held in submissive ⁴ peace for a hundred years; the place being distinguished by the memory of their disaster would rather irritate them to wipe out memory of their disgrace than cause fear that any land should be unfavourable to their victory;⁵ moreover, even if the Gauls themselves were to present themselves to them in that place, they would fight just as they fought at Rome in winning back their country, and as they fought the next day at Gabii, on that day when they took care that no enemy who had once entered the Roman walls should carry home the news of his success or his defeat.

29.

With these feelings on both sides they came to the Alia. The Roman dictator, when the enemy was in sight, drawn up and ready for battle, said: 'Aulus Sempronius, do you see that those men, relying on the fortune of the place, have taken their stand at the Alia? May the immortal gods grant them nothing of a more assured confidence or any more effectual aid! But do you, relying on arms and courage, charge their centre at a gallop: ⁶ I with the legions will advance against

¹ *Quanto magis Aliensi die* = 'quanto magis quam diem Aliensem.' Catull. lxiv. 100, 'magis fulgore expalluit auri.'

² 'Eleganter utitur verbo *delegare*,' says Drakenborch, 'quod non simpliciter aliquid alicui mandare notat, sed id mandare quod is, qui mandat, facere ipse debebat.'

³ *Ad lacum Regillum*: p. 131, n. 1.

⁴ *Obsecra* implies that the Latins were held in a state of subjection, not making peace on equal terms: vii. 30. 2, 'tunc ut qui *ex æquo* nos venisse in amicitiam meminisse, amici forsitan pariter ac nunc, subiecti atque *obsecra* vobis minus essemus.'

⁵ *Ne qua* (i.e. ' aliqua ') *terra sit nefasta victoriæ*: i.e. 'in qua nefas erat vincere. Quod proprie de die adhibetur, etiam de terra usurpat Livius.'—Stroth.

⁶ *Concitatatis equis*: spurring your horses,

them while they are in confusion and consternation. Assist us, ye gods who are witnesses of the treaty, and exact the penalty due at once to you who have been wronged and to us who have been deceived through your divinity.' The Praenestines withstood neither the cavalry nor the infantry. At the first charge and shout their ranks were scattered; then, when their line stood its ground nowhere, they turn their backs, and panic-stricken and rushing past¹ even their own camp in their terror, they stop not from their headlong speed before Praeneste² was in sight. There, after their disorderly flight, they choose a position which they fortified with hurried labour, [fearing] lest if they retreated within the walls the country would forthwith be wasted with fire, and, after all had been devastated, siege should be laid to the city. But when, after plundering the camp at the Alia, the victorious Romans came up, this fortification also was abandoned, and hardly thinking the walls themselves safe they shut themselves up in the town of Praeneste. Eight towns besides were under the sway of the Praenestines: hostilities were carried round to them, and when they were taken in succession without much trouble, the army was led to Velitrae. This also was taken by storm. Then they came to Praeneste, the chief seat of the war. It was captured not by storm but through surrender. Titus Quinctius, once victorious in the field, having captured two³ camps and nine towns of the enemy by storm and acquired Praeneste on terms of capitulation, returned to Rome, and in his triumph bore into the Capitol⁴ the statue of Jove the Commander which he had conveyed from Praeneste. It was dedicated between the shrine of Jove and Minerva, and a tablet fixed below it as a

¹ *Praelati*: p. 67, n. 5.

² *Praeneste* (the word is indeclinable, *i.e.* used for all cases) was just within the borders of the Aequi, twenty-five miles due east of Rome.

³ With words that have no singular, like 'castra' and 'litterae' (= *epistola*), not the cardinal, but the distributive numbers are used; not, *e.g.*, 'duo castra,' 'duae litterae' (which would mean 'two letters of the alphabet'), but 'bina castra,' 'binae litterae.'

⁴ *Triumphans . . . in Capitolum tulit*: p. 75, n. 4.

monument of his exploits, inscribed with nearly these words: 'Jupiter and all the gods granted this, that Titus Quinctius the dictator should take nine towns.' On the twentieth day after he was appointed he resigned the dictatorship.

30. An election of military tribunes with consular power was then held, at which the number of patricians and plebeians was made equal. From the patricians were created Publius and Gaius Manlius, with Lucius Julius: the commons appointed Gaius Sextilius, Marcus Albinus, and Lucius Antistius. To the Manlii, because they were superior to the plebeians in birth and to Julius in interest, the province of the Volscians was assigned¹ out of the usual course, without lots and without mutual agreement: which both they themselves and the patricians who had conferred it afterwards repented. Without reconnoitring,² they sent some cohorts to forage; and while they march rapidly to their assistance³ (believing that they were surrounded, on a false report to that effect being brought them), without even guarding the informant, who, being a Latin enemy instead of a Roman soldier, had deceived them, they themselves fell into an ambush. While they, resisting only by the valour of the soldiers, slaughter and are slaughtered there on disadvantageous ground, the enemy in the meantime attacked in another direction the Roman camp, which lay in the plain. Matters were betrayed in both quarters⁴ by the generals through rashness and unskilfulness; whatever advantage rested with the fortune of the Roman people⁵ was preserved by the

¹ *Volsci provincia . . . data*: p. 40, n. 7. *Sine sorte*: by which the magistrates usually divided their several duties amongst themselves. *Sine comparatione*: iii. 41, 'inter se decemviri comparabant quos ire ad bellum, quos praeesse exercitibus oporteret': xxiv. 10, 'ut consules sortirentur compararent inter se' (i.e. 'pacto inter se convenirent'). *Extra ordinem*: p. 167, n. 2.

² *Inexplorato*: p. 45, n. 5.

³ The construction is: 'dum feruntur ut essent praesidio iis circumventis.' *Praecipitavere* [se].

⁴ *Utrobique*: 'et illo loco ubi in insidias praecipitaverant, et ad castra.'—Drakenb.

⁵ *Quicquid superfluit fortunae P. R.*: or 'fortunae' may be the

steady valour of the men even without a leader. When these events were reported at Rome, it was at first resolved that a dictator should be named: then, when tranquillity¹ was announced on the side of the Volscians, and it was clear that they knew not how to use their victory and opportunity, the armies and generals were even recalled from thence altogether, and there was quiet from that quarter so far as regarded the Volscians; only this disturbance arose at the end of the year, that the Praenestines, stirring up some of the states of the Latins, renewed hostilities. In the same year new colonists were enrolled for Setia, [those who were there] themselves² complaining of the scarcity of men; and domestic peace, which the influence and importance, among their own party, of the military tribunes [who were elected] from the commons procured, was a consolation for ill-success in war.

The commencement of the following year blazed forth immediately with great civil commotions, the military tribunes with consular power being Spurius Furius, Quintus Servilius a second time, Lucius Mene-
31.
nius a third time, Publius Cloelius, Marcus Horatius, and Lucius Geganius. Both the grounds³ and cause of the disturbance were debt: for the sake of ascertaining which Spurius Servilius Priscus and Quintus Cloelius Siculus were made censors, but prevented from taking any proceedings by war. For first terrified messengers, then the flight⁴ of the inhabitants from the country, brought word that the legions of the Volscians had entered their borders and were laying waste the Roman territory on every side. In this alarm so far was it from being the case that external danger checked civil strife, that on the contrary the tribunician power became all the more violent in obstructing the levy, until these

gen. (instead of the dat.) after 'quicquid: ' 'all the success that *did* fall to the Roman people.'

¹ *Quietae res*: p. 16, n. 7.

² *Ipsis* [colonis Setinis]. *Setiam adscripti*: cf. p. 147, n. 1.

³ *Materia*: the subject-matter: p. 140, n. 3.

⁴ *Fuga*: i.e. 'agrestium' (v. 37) = 'fugitivi.'

conditions were imposed on the patricians, that no one, until the war was concluded, should pay taxes, and that no judgment for credit given should be pronounced. This relaxation being won for the commons, there was no delay in the levy. New legions being enrolled, it was resolved that the legions should be divided and two armies led into the Volscian territory. Spurius Furius and Marcus Horatius proceed to the right, towards the sea-coast and Antium: Quintus Servilius and Lucius Geganus by the left towards the mountains to Ecetra. In neither direction did the enemy meet them. Devastation accordingly—not like that straggling kind which the Volscians had committed hurriedly and in terror, after the fashion of brigandage, relying on the dissensions¹ of the enemy and dreading their valour—was committed by a regular army with well-deserved resentment, the more severe by the length of its duration. For incursions had been made by the Volscians on the outskirts of the territory, in constant fear lest an army should come out from Rome in the meantime: the Romans, on the contrary, even had a reason for delaying in the enemy's country,² in order that they might entice the enemy out to an engagement. Accordingly, after burning down all the houses in the country in every direction and even some villages as well, leaving no fruit-bearing tree, no crops for the hope of a harvest, and driving off all the spoil of men and cattle that was without the walls, the armies were led back to Rome from both quarters.

32.

After a short interval given to debtors to take breath, when matters were quiet on the part of the enemy,³ legal proceedings began to be instituted afresh; and so remote was the hope of relieving the old rate of interest that fresh was incurred by a tax for building a wall of squared stone, the contract for which was issued⁴ by the censors. The commons were forced to submit to

¹ *Discordiae fretus*: p. 148, n. 6.

² *Hostico*: τῶ πολέμῳ: p. 81, n. 5.

³ *Ab hostibus*: cf. 'quantum a Volscis,' ch. 30, 8.

⁴ *Locatum*: p. 62, n. 2.

this burden, because their tribunes had no levy to obstruct. Forced by the influence of the nobles, they also made all the military tribunes patricians, Lucius Aemilius, Publius Valerius a fourth time, Gaius Veturius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius and Gaius Quinctius Cincinnatus. By the same influence they succeeded in enrolling three armies against the Latins and Volscians, who with united forces had their camp at Satricum, all the young men being bound by the military oath without any opposition: one [army] for the protection of the city; the other, one which could be despatched to meet the sudden chances of war¹ if any disturbance arose anywhere; the third, which was far the strongest, Publius Valerius and Lucius Aemilius led to Satricum, where, finding the enemy's line of battle drawn up on level ground, they immediately began the battle; rain pouring down with violent squalls broke off a conflict of fair promise, though it was not yet a quite certain victory. Next day the battle was renewed, and for a considerable time [the enemy] stood their ground with equal valour and success, especially the Latin legions, which had learned the Roman mode of warfare through their long alliance. A charge of cavalry disordered their ranks; while in disorder the standards of the infantry were borne against them, and as much as the Roman line advanced, so much were the enemy dislodged from their ground; and when once the battle gave way, the Roman prowess then was irresistible. As the routed enemy made not for their camp but Satricum, which was two miles from it, they were cut down chiefly by the cavalry: their camp was taken and plundered. In the night which succeeded the battle they left Satricum for Antium in a march resembling a flight, and though the Roman army followed almost in their steps, still fear possessed more speed than anger. The enemy, therefore, entered the walls before the Romans could harass or impede their rear.² Several days were then spent in

¹ *Subita belli* [ministeria]: iv. 27 (*init.*); xxx. 2 (*mid.*) 'duas legiones urbanas ad incerta belli.' Hor. *C. IV.* iv. 76, 'acuta belli.'

² *Extrema agminis*: cf. 'extrema finium,' 31, 7: 'aversa urbis,' p. 74, n. 3.

devastating the country, as the Romans were not ready with military engines to attack the walls, nor the others¹ to undergo the risk of a battle.

33.

Then a dispute arose between the Antians and the Latins, as the Antians, overcome by misfortune and subdued in a war in which they had both been born and had grown old, began to look out for [a chance of] surrender, while their recent revolt after a long peace, their spirit being still fresh, rendered the Latins more reckless to persevere in the war. There was an end of the contest when it became evident to both parties that no obstacle would be put by either side² in the way of their following out their own plans. The Latins by departing saved themselves from sharing in a peace which, as they thought, was dishonourable; the Antians, on the removal of these troublesome interlopers of sound measures, surrender their city and lands to the Romans. The rage and fury of the Latins, because they could neither damage the Romans in war nor keep the Volscians in arms, vented itself in setting fire to the city of Satricum, which had been their first place of retreat after their defeat. Nor did any other building in that city escape, as they cast firebrands indiscriminately on what was sacred and what was profane, except the temple of Mother Matuta: and from this neither its own sanctity nor any reverence for the gods is said to have restrained them, but an awful voice uttered from the temple with terrible threats unless they removed their impious fire far from its shrines. Fired with the same rage, their impetuosity carried them to Tusculum through anger because, abandoning the common council of the Latins, they had joined themselves to the Romans not only as allies but as citizens. As they rushed in unexpectedly through the open gates, the town, except the citadel, was taken at the first shout. The townsmen took refuge with their wives and children in the citadel, and sent messengers to Rome to inform the

¹ *Neo illis (i.e. hostibus) satis instructis ad subeundum, &c.*

² *Nihil per alteros stare, quo minus, &c.* This idiom is only used of preventing a thing being done.

Senate of their position. With no less rapidity than was worthy of the honour of the Roman people an army was led to Tusculum, under the command of Lucius Quinctius and Servius Sulpicius, military tribunes. They saw the gates of Tusculum shut, and the Latins, with feelings of besiegers and besieged at once, on the one side defending the walls of Tusculum, on the other attacking the citadel, striking terror and feeling it at the same time. The arrival of the Romans instantly¹ changed the feelings of both sides: it turned the Tusculans from great alarm to the utmost alacrity, and the Latins from almost certain confidence of their soon taking the citadel, since they were in possession of the town, into scanty hopes even for themselves. A shout was raised by the Tusculans from the citadel, and was followed by a much louder one from the Roman army. The Latins are hard pressed on both sides: they cannot either withstand the attack of the Tusculans charging down from the higher ground, nor can they repel the Romans advancing up to the walls and forcing² the bars of the gates. The walls were first captured by escalade; then the bars of the gates were burst open, and as enemies on both sides³ pressed them hard both in front and rear, and no energy for fight remained and no room for flight, they were all cut down between the two to a man. Having recovered Tusculum from the enemy, the army was led back to Rome.

In proportion as all was tranquil abroad through their successful wars that year, so much⁴ did the violence of the patricians and the misery of the commons increase day by day in the city, as the means of paying were prevented by the very sum which it was necessary should be paid.⁵ Accordingly, when nothing could any longer

34.

¹ Force of pluperf. *mutaverat*: p. 53, n. 4.

² *Molientes*: p. 146, n. 4. The gen. of *obex* is either 'obcis' or 'obiicis': it denotes anything put up as an obstacle or barrier ('objectum'): p. 17, n. 1.

³ *Anceps*: p. 16, n. 9.

⁴ *Quanto . . . tantum*: p. 36, n. 1.

⁵ *I.e.* the debt was so large that it far exceeded the means of payment.

be paid out of the property [of the debtors], being legally declared liable and handed over to their creditors they satisfied them by their character and person,¹ and punishment took the place of credit. So much, therefore, had not only the lowest but even the leading men of the commons sunk their spirit to submission,² that not only had no bold and enterprising man the courage to stand for the military tribuneship among the patricians (for the right of doing which they had striven³ with such energy), but not even to stand for and manage⁴ plebeian magistracies; and the patricians seemed to have recovered for ever the possession of an honour which had only been usurped by the commons for a few years. A small matter, as is usually wont to be the case, occurred (the cause of producing a vast result) to prevent this from being too much a matter of exultation to the other party. Two daughters of Marcus Fabius Ambustus (an influential man among men of his own station⁵ and at the same time with the commons also, because he was by no means considered among that order as a despiser of it) were married, the elder to Servius Sulpicius, the younger to Gaius Licinius Stolo, a distinguished man, indeed, but still a plebeian: and the very fact that this alliance had not been scorned⁶ had gained⁷ popularity for Fabius with the people. It so happened by chance that while the two Fabiae were passing the time in mutual conversation, as usual, in the house of Servius Sulpicius while he was military tribune, the lictor of Sulpicius when he returned home from the forum, struck the door, as the custom is, with a rod. When the younger Fabia, un-

¹ *I.e.* by imprisonment.

² *Obnoxios summisserant an.*: *obn.* (p. 178, n. 4) is proleptic.

³ *Tetenderant*: p. 35, n. 1.

⁴ *Capessendos petendosque*: of course they must be candidates before they could act as magistrates: *cf.* Verg. *Aen.* ii. 353, 'moriatur et in media arma ruamus.'

⁵ *Sui corporis*: *i.e.* the patricians: iv. 9 (*sub init.*).

⁶ *Affinitas haud spreta*: *cf.* 'Camillus auditus imperator,' ch. 2. Note that *haud* is only used with adverbs and in certain phrases, as 'haud sperno, dubito, scio an,' &c.

⁷ *Quaerierat*: v. 4, 'quaerere unde se ac suos tueri posset.'

acquainted with this custom,¹ was frightened at it, she was laughed at by her sister² who wondered that her sister did not know it; but this laughter gave a sting to the female mind, sensitive to trifles. From the large number of persons attending on her³ and asking whether she wanted anything,⁴ her sister's marriage, I suppose, seemed a fortunate one to her, and she was dissatisfied with her own by that mistaken feeling whereby every one is least of all willing to be surpassed by his nearest relations. When her father happened to see her distressed after her recent mortification, asking 'Are you quite well?'⁵ by kind questioning of her, as she tried to conceal the cause of her grief (since it was neither very dutiful towards her sister nor respectful to her husband), he persuaded her to confess that this was the cause of her grief, because she had been united to one who was no match for her, having married into a family which neither dignity nor influence could enter. Then Ambustus, consoling his daughter, bade her have good courage: she should soon see in her house the same honours as she saw at her sister's. Thereupon he began to draw up his plans with his son-in-law, joining to them⁶ Lucius Sextius, an energetic young man, one to whose hopes nothing was lacking but patrician birth.

This seemed a good opportunity for reform, on account of the immense load of debt; no relief of which evil the commons could look for unless when their own party was placed in supreme power⁷: [they knew] that they must gird themselves up for this purpose; by striving and by effort, the plebeians had already made

35.

¹ The tale is not very probable, for Fabia must have known the custom when her father was in office a few years before.

² *Risui sorori fuit*: p. 22, n. 4: 'risui' = 'ludibrio.'

³ *Prosequentium*: 'prosequi est verbum honoris et officii, ac de illis usurpatur qui aliquem honoris causa deducunt et per publicum comitantur.'—Drakenb. *Cf.* ii. 31 (end), viii. 25. 8, &c., and p. 71, n. 4.

⁴ *Num quid vellet*? a phrase of politeness on taking leave of any one. Hor. *S. I.* ix. 6, 'num quid vis?' Ter. *Ad. II.* ii. 39, *Hec. II.* ii. 30; Cic. *Ad Att.* v. 2, vi. 3.

⁵ *Satin' salve*? = 'satisne salve (*adv.*) habes:' καλῶς ἔχεις;

⁶ *Adhibito*: p. 65, n. 6.

⁷ *In summo imperio*: i.e. the Consulate.

a stepping-stone to it, whence, if they were to struggle forward, they could reach the summit and be equal to the patricians in dignity as well as in merit. For the present it was resolved that tribunes of the commons should be appointed, in which office they might open for themselves a road to the other posts of honour. And Gaius Licinius and Lucius Sextius, elected tribunes, published laws, all against the influence of the patricians, and for the interests of the commons: one relating to debt, that, deducting from the principal all that had been paid in interest, the remainder should be paid off in three years in equal instalments; the second relating to the limitation of land, that no one should possess more than five hundred *iugera*¹ of land; the third, that elections for military tribunes should not be held, and that one at least of the consuls should be elected from the commons: all² matters of very great importance, and such as could not be won without the greatest struggles. When a question was raised, therefore, of all things at once whereof there is unbounded desire amongst men, namely, land, money, and dignities, the patricians, terrified and dismayed both in their public and private consultations, and finding no other remedy except the right of veto, which had already been tried in many struggles before, gained over their colleagues to resist the bills of the tribunes. They, when they saw the tribes summoned by Licinius and Sextius to begin voting, surrounded by a guard of patricians, allowed neither the bills to be read, nor any other formality to be gone through to the commons [to enable them] to give their decision. At last, when the assembly had often been summoned to no purpose, and the bills were considered as rejected³: 'Very well,'⁴

¹ *Iugera*: p. 63, n. 2: *agri* [publici]. From other sources we learn that it was made illegal for anyone to feed on the public pasture-land more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep. *Utique*, perhaps 'in any case,' 'omnino': v. 39, end.

² *Cuncta*: these famous laws are known in history as the Licinian Rogations.

³ *Pro antiquatis*: p. 76, n. 1.

⁴ *Bene habet*: a Greek idiom, καλῶς ἔχει: cf. Hor. S. I. ix. 53, 'sic habet.'

said Sextius, 'since it is your will that the veto should possess such power, we will protect the commons by that very same weapon. Come now, patricians, proclaim an assembly for electing military tribunes; I will take care¹ that that word "I forbid it," which you now listen to our colleagues chanting with so much pleasure, shall not be pleasant to you.' His threat did not fall to the ground ineffectual: no elections were held except those of plebeian aediles and tribunes. Licinius and Sextius, re-elected tribunes of the commons, suffered no curule magistrates to be appointed; and this absence of magistrates occupied the city for five years, the commons re-electing the two tribunes, and they abolishing the elections for military tribunes.

36.

Other wars, very seasonably, were at rest; the colonists of Velitrae, waxing wanton through ease, because there was no Roman army, several times made incursions into the Roman territory, and attempted to besiege Tusculum; and this circumstance, when the Tusculans, their old allies and new fellow-citizens, implored their aid, affected, chiefly through a sense of shame, not only the patricians but the commons as well. The tribunes of the commons relaxing their opposition, elections were held by an interrex, and the military tribunes elected—Lucius Furius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Servius Cornelius, Publius and Gaius Valerius—found the commons by no means so obedient in the levy as in the elections; and, enrolling an army after great contention, they set out, and not only dislodged the enemy from Tusculum, but drove them within their own walls; and Velitrae began to be besieged with much greater energy than Tusculum had been. Still, however, it could not be captured by those by whom it had begun to be besieged; the new military tribunes were first elected, Quintus Servilius, Gaius Veturius, Aulus and Marcus Cornelius, Quintus Quinc-

¹ *Fazio*: Verg. *Aen.* ix. 154, xii. 316: an old form of the fut. of *facio* = *fac-so* (*cf.* *iusso*, *Aen.* xi. 467) = *fac* (stem) + *s* (= 'es,' 'to be:'). Gr. *φάτω*, *φάτω*, *φάτω*, and all other future forms in Gr.) *Cf.* 'faxim,' &c.; 'di faxint,' Cic.

tius, and Marcus Fabius. Nothing of importance was done even by these tribunes at Velitrae. At home, matters were involved in greater peril. For besides Sextius and Licinius, the movers of the laws, now for the eighth time re-elected tribunes of the commons, Fabius also, a military tribune, the father-in-law of Stolo, avowed himself the unhesitating supporter¹ of those laws of which he had been the suggester; and whereas there had at first been eight of the college of plebeian tribunes protesters against the laws, there were now only five, and they, as is usual with men who separate themselves from their own party, confused and bewildered, with feelings alien to their words, pleaded as a reason for their veto² only that which had been taught them³ at home: 'that a large part of the commons was absent in the army at Velitrae: the elections ought to be put off till the arrival of the soldiers, so that the whole of the commons might give their vote on their own interests.' Sextius and Licinius, with part of their colleagues, and one of the military tribunes, Fabius, skilled⁴ now by an experience of so many years in managing the minds of the commons, brought forward the chief men of the patricians, and worried them with questions on each one of the demands which were laid before the people: 'Would they dare⁵ to demand that, while two *iugera* of land each⁶ were distributed to the commons, they themselves should be allowed to have more than five hundred *iugera*? that single individuals should possess the land of nearly three hundred citizens, while for a plebeian his land was scarcely large enough for a scanty⁷ dwelling and place of burial?

¹ *Suasorem*: 'ferre legem' is to bring forward a law: 'suadere,' to second it. *Auctor legis* is the same as *lator*: Hor. *C.* III. v. 46.

² *Intercessioni suae praetendebant*: iii. 47 (mid.), 'quem decreto sermonem praetenderit;' *ib.* 45, 'legem . . . quam Verginii amici postulationi suae praetendant.' Verg. *Aen.* ix. 599, 'Marti praetendere muros.'

³ *Praeceptum*: i.e. by the patricians.

⁴ *Artifices*: adj. Sall. *Jug.* 35 (mid.), 'per homines talis negotii artifices itinera . . . explorat.'

⁵ *Auderentne*: p. 17, n. 10.

⁶ *Bina iugera*: the ordinary allotment to colonists: iv. 47, vii.

21, 11; Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 161. Drakenb.

⁷ *Necessarium*: such as was absolutely indispensable: *ἀναγκαῖον*.

Was it their wish that the commons, bound hand and foot with usury, should surrender their bodies to bonds and punishment rather than settle their debt by [paying] the principal, and that men should daily be led from the forum in flocks, given up to their creditors, and that noble houses should be filled with prisoners, and that, wherever a patrician dwelt, there should be a private prison ?'

Uttering these reproaches, shameful and pitiable to listen to, amongst persons alarmed ¹ for themselves, with greater indignation in their hearers than in themselves, they affirmed that there would never be any limit to the patricians' occupation of the land, or to their butchery of the commons with usury, unless the commons elected one of the two consuls from the commons, as a guardian of their liberty. The tribunes of the commons were now despised, as being a power which breaks its own strength by the right of protest. No impartial legal proceedings could be taken when power was in the hands of their opponents, and only the right of protection in their own; unless the power were shared, the commons would never have an equal share in the state.² Nor was there any reason why anyone should think it enough if plebeians were taken into account ³ at the consular elections; unless it were indispensable that one of the two consuls at least ⁴ should be chosen from the commons, none would be. Had it already passed out of memory that, when it had been resolved that military tribunes should be elected rather than consuls, for this reason, that the highest dignity should be open to plebeians as well, during forty-four years not one military tribune had been elected from the commons? What were they to believe? were those who at the election of military tribunes were wont to occupy eight places,⁵

37.

¹ *Timentes*: i.e. 'ne et ipsi haec indigna miserandaque patenterentur.'

² *In parte pari reip.*: p. 153, n. 4.

³ *Ratio habeatur*: i.e. be permitted to stand as candidates.

⁴ *Utique*: p. 188, n. 1.

⁵ *Octona loca*: only once (v. 1) does Livy record the election of so many as eight consular tribunes, and even in that instance two

likely, of their own free will, to share the honour with the commons when there were but two places, and to suffer a way to be opened to the consulship when they had so long kept the tribuneship fenced in? They must obtain by a law what they could not obtain by influence at the elections, and one of the two consulships must be set apart, out of the way of contention, to which the commons were to have access; since, if it were left open to rivalry, it would always be the prize of the stronger. Nor could that now be asserted which they were formerly wont to boast, that there were not among the plebeians any men suitable for curule magistracies. For was the state governed less prudently or energetically after the tribuneship of Publius Licinius Calvus, who was the first elected from the commons, than it was managed during those years when no one except patricians was military tribune? Nay, on the contrary, several patricians had been condemned after their tribuneship, but no plebeian. Quaestors¹ also, like military tribunes, began to be elected from the commons a few years before, nor had the Roman people been dissatisfied with any one of them. The consulship still remained for the plebeians [to win]²: that was the citadel and the prop of their liberty. If they reached it, then would the Roman people think that kings were, in truth, expelled from the city and their liberty was firmly established; for from that day everything in which the patricians surpassed them would fall to the commons: power, and honour, glory in war, birth, nobility: great things for themselves to enjoy; still greater to leave for their children.' When they saw that speeches of this kind were well received, they publish a new bill, that ten commissioners should be elected for performing religious matters instead of two³, so that half should be chosen from the

out of the eight, Camillus and Albinus, are said by other authorities to have been not tribunes but censors. *Occupare* is not the usual word for 'taking office': it implies seizing in a high-handed way.

¹ *Quaestores*: see Introduction, and p. 54, n. 4.

² *Superesse*: ad potiundum: Cic. *Phil.* VI. v. 14, 'divisit Semurium: Campus Martius restabat, nisi prius,' &c.

³ *Duumviris*: p. 108, n. 3.

commons, half from the patricians; and they put off the assembly for [voting on] all these bills till the arrival of the army which was besieging Velitrae.

The year was completed before the legions were brought back from Velitrae: thus the business of the laws was kept in suspense and deferred till the new military tribunes [took office]; for the commons re-elected the same plebeian tribunes, especially the two who were the proposers of the laws. The military tribunes elected were Titus Quinctius, Servius Cornelius, Servius Sulpicius, Spurius Servilius, Lucius Papirius, and Lucius Veturius. At the very beginning of the year matters were pushed to the utmost contention about the laws, and when the tribes were called and the protest of their colleagues did not stop the movers [of the laws], the patricians in alarm had recourse to their two last defences, the highest authority and the highest citizen. It was resolved that a dictator should be appointed: Marcus Furius Camillus was appointed, who chose Lucius Aemilius as his master of the horse. On their side also the movers of the laws arm the cause of the commons with great resolution against the important preparations of their adversaries, and proclaiming an assembly of the commons they summon the tribes to vote. When the dictator, attended by a band of patricians, took his seat, full of anger and threats, and the business was conducted at first with the usual contention of the tribunes of the commons among themselves, some proposing and some forbidding the law, and the more powerful the protest was by right the more it was overpowered by the popularity of the laws themselves and of their proposers; and when the first tribes pronounced 'Be it as you propose:' then Camillus said: 'Since, Roman citizens, the licence,¹ not the power, of the tribunes now rules you, and by the same violence by which you acquired it you are now rendering useless to yourselves the right of protest, which was formerly acquired by a secession of the

38.

¹ *Libido*, abuse of power.

commons, I, as dictator will support¹ the right of protest not more for the sake of the whole commonwealth than your own, and I will defend with my authority your right of protection, now overthrown. If then Gaius Licinius and Lucius Sextius yield to the protest of their colleagues, I will not introduce a patrician magistrate into an assembly of the commons; if, in opposition to the protest, they shall strive to impose laws on the state as though it were captive, I will not allow the strength of the tribunate to be dissolved by itself.' When the tribunes of the commons, in spite of this, persisted in their undertaking contemptuously and without a whit less energy, then Camillus, provoked to anger, sent his lictors to disperse the commons, and added threats that if they persisted he would bind down all the younger men by the military oath and immediately lead the army out of the city. He had struck great terror into the commons: he rather inflamed the minds of the leaders of the commons by his resistance than weakened them. But before victory inclined to either side he resigned his magistracy, either because he had been appointed under some defect, as some have written, or because the tribunes of the commons proposed to the commons, and the commons decreed it,² that, if Marcus Furius did anything in the quality of dictator, he should be fined 500,000 *asses*; ³ but the character of the man himself, as well as the fact that Publius Manlius was immediately substituted for him as dictator, induce me rather to believe that he was deterred by the auspices than by a resolution so unprecedented: ⁴ (for what would have been the use ⁵ of appointing another for a contest in which Marcus Furius had been defeated?) as well as

¹ *Intercessioni adero*: p. 33, n. 3.

² *Idque plebs scivit*: iii. 55, &c., 'tribunus plebis rogavit plebesque scivit.' Such 'plebiscita' were binding on commons and patricians alike: see Introduction, and iii. 55.

³ *Quingentum millium* [assium] = 5,000*l.*, an enormous sum in those days, when the property necessary for the rank of *equus* was only 4,000*l.* (i.e. 400,000 *asses*).

⁴ *Novi exempli*: p. 74, n. 5.

⁵ *Attinebat*: vi. 23, n. 2.

the fact that the following year had the same Marcus Furius for dictator, though he certainly would not without shame resume an authority which the year before had been shattered in his person; at the same time [I hold my opinion] because, at the time when the resolution concerning his fine is said to have been published, he could either have stopped this measure as well, by which he saw himself degraded,¹ or else he could not have hindered even those others, on account of which this had been proposed: and [lastly] because, down even to our own memory,² struggles took place between the strength of the tribunes and the consuls, but the dignity of the dictatorship was always pre-eminent.

Between the resignation of the former dictatorship and the new one entered upon by Manlius, at a meeting of the commons, held by the tribunes as if by an inter-regnum, it was clear which of their propositions was most acceptable to the commons and which to the proposers. For they passed the bills relating to the interest and the land, but rejected that which referred to one consul being a plebeian; and both proceedings would have been carried out had not the tribunes declared that they consulted the commons on all the points at once. Then Publius Manlius, being dictator, inclined the advantage to the cause of the commons by naming Gaius Licinius, a plebeian, who had been military tribune, master of the horse. I am told that the patricians were displeased at this, but the dictator used to excuse himself to them by his close relationship to Licinius, at the same time denying that the authority of a master of the horse was greater than that of a consular tribune. When the elections for making tribunes of the commons were announced, Licinius and Sextius so conducted themselves that, by denying that

39.

¹ *In ordinem cogi*: iii. 35, 'in ordinem se ipsum cogere et vulgari cum privatis;' *ib.* 51 (*sub fin.*), 'decemviri querentes se in ordinem cogi;' xxv. 3 (end), &c. The phrase orig. meant 'to reduce an officer to the ranks:' hence, generally, to degrade: 'inter viles et abiectos connumerare' (Priscian).

² *I.e.* to the end of the Republic. *Altius*: above dispute.

they desired any longer a continuance of the honour, they most keenly stimulated the commons to that which they sought for by dissimulation. 'For the ninth year' [they argued] 'were they now standing as it were in battle array against the nobles, with the greatest peril as individuals and without any profit to the public.'¹ Both the bills they had published and all the strength of the tribunician power had now grown old with them. Attacks had been made on their laws, first by the protest of their colleagues, then by the banishment of their young men to the Velitran war: finally, the dictatorial thunder was directed against them. Now neither colleagues nor war nor the dictator stood in their way, for he was one who, by nominating a master of the horse from the commons, had even given an omen for a plebeian consul: the commons hindered themselves and their interests. They could immediately, if they liked, have the city and forum free from creditors, their lands free from unjust possessors. When, in the name of heaven, would they ever estimate these blessings with sufficiently grateful feelings if, while receiving the measures that related to their own interests, they were to cut away from the proposers of them all hope of [attaining] high office? It was not becoming the modesty of the Roman people to demand this, that they themselves should be relieved of usury and put in possession of the land unjustly occupied by the great, while [as for those men] by whose means they attained these [advantages], they leave them, in their old age, of merely tribunician rank, not only without honour but even without the hope of honour. Let them, therefore, first determine in their own minds what they wanted, and then let them declare their wishes at the election of tribunes. If they wished the bills published by them to be passed collectively, there was some reason for re-electing² the same men as

¹ *Nullo publice emolumento* : or, 'without any public advantage to themselves.'

² *Esse, quod reficerent* : 37, 4, 'nec esse quod quisquam satis putet.'

tribunes of the commons, for they would carry through what they had published; but if they wished that only to be agreed to which was necessary for each privately, there was no necessity for an invidious prolongation of their office: *they* would not have the tribuneship nor would the others have what had been published.'

In reply to so peremptory a speech of the tribunes, when amazement at the insolence of the thing, and silence therefrom¹ held the rest of the patricians motionless,² Appius Claudius Crassus, grandson of the decemvir,³ is said to have come forward to speak against them, more from hatred and anger than from hope, and to have spoken⁴ nearly to this effect: 'It would be neither new nor unexpected to me, citizens of Rome, if I too were now to hear that one reproach which has always been thrown at our family by seditious tribunes, namely, that even from the very beginning nothing in the state has ever been of more importance⁵ to the Claudian clan than the dignity of the patricians: that we have always been opposed to the interests of the commons. As for one of these two charges, I neither deny nor refuse to acknowledge it,⁶ namely, that, since we were once enrolled among the citizens⁷ and patricians, we have strenuously done our best that the dignity of those families, amongst which you were

40.

¹ *Inde*: 'ex eo stupore proficiscens.'

² *Defixisset*: 'rooted them to the ground.'

³ *Decemviri*: p. 18, n. 3.

⁴ *Dicitur locutus esse*: p. 70, n. 3.

⁵ *Antiquius*: i. 32, 'longe antiquissimum ratus:' iii. 10, 2, 'id antiquius consuli fuit:' vii. 31, 1, 'utilitate fides antiquior fuit:' ix. 31, 3; Cic. *Ad Fam.* XI. v. 1, 'nec habui quicquam antiquius, quam,' etc. It means 'earlier, sooner, of *prior* importance.'

⁶ *Infitias eo*: 'forsan differentia quaedam verborum *negare* et *infittias ire* locum habet: ita ut illud in universum valeat dicere rem non sic esse; hoc vero strictius criminationem, quam alius quisquam veram esse contendit, contra eum *negare*: ut igitur hoc loco haec sententia sit: "hoc neque ita esse non affirmo, neque, etiamsi hoc quasi crimen nobis obiciatis, fateri dubito."—Stroth.

⁷ *Adsciti sumus in civitatem*: the Claudii traced their descent from Attus Clausus, a Sabine noble, who soon after the establishment of the Republic migrated with a large body of dependents from Regillum to Rome, and was ranked with the chief men of the city (ii. 16).

pleased that we should be included, might with truth be said to have been increased rather than diminished by our means; with respect to that other charge, I would venture on behalf of myself and my ancestors, citizens of Rome, to maintain (unless anyone were to consider what is done for the whole state as hostile to the commons, as though they dwelt in another city), that neither as private men nor in magistracies have we ever knowingly done anything which was meant to be¹ injurious to the commons, nor can any act or word of ours be truthfully brought forward which was opposed to your advantage, though some may have been opposed to your wishes. Could I, if I were not of the Claudian family nor sprung from patrician blood but any ordinary Roman citizen who merely knew that I was born of two free parents and that I lived in a free state—could I keep silence on this, that Lucius Sextius there and Gaius Licinius, by the grace of God perpetual tribunes, have in the nine years during which they have reigned assumed such an amount of arrogance as to refuse to allow you the free right of voting either at the elections or in passing laws? “On certain conditions,” he says,² “shall you re-elect us tribunes for the tenth time.” What is this but saying,³ “What others sue for, we so utterly disdain that without a great reward we will not accept it”? But what, in the name of heaven, is that reward for which we may always have you as tribunes of the commons? “That you accept all our bills collectively,” says he, “whether they please or displease you, whether they are profitable⁴ or unprofitable.” I beg you, you Tarquins,⁵ tribunes of the commons, suppose that I, a single citizen, cried out in the midst of the assembly: “By your good leave be it

¹ Force of subj. *esset*.

² *Inquit*: Claudius probably points either to Sextius or Licinius in saying this.

³ *Quid est aliud dicere*: if this is not saying . . . what is? or, = ‘q. e. aliud quam dicere.’

⁴ *Inutiles* = ‘perniciosae’: p. 25, n. 2.

⁵ The name of Tarquin, from its last bearer, Tarquinius Superbus, became a synonym for a cruel tyrant; iii. 39, ‘decem Tarquinos appellantes [decemviros].’

permitted us to choose out of these bills those which we think to be beneficial for us, and to reject the others." "It shall not be permitted you," he says, "to vote with regard to usury and land that which concerns all of you, or that this prodigy should not take place in the city of Rome, that you see Lucius Sextius and Gaius Licinius here consuls, a thing which you scorn and loath:¹ either accept all, or I propose nothing." As though one were to place poison together with food before a man who is pressed with hunger, and either bid him abstain from that which would support life, or mix the deadly with the life-giving. If then this state were free, would they not in full assembly have cried out, "Away with you and your tribuneships and bills"? What! if *you* will not bring forward that which it is the interest of the people to accept, will there be no one to do so? If any patrician, if any Claudius, which they want to make still more invidious, were to say this, "Either accept all, or I lay before you nothing," which of you, Romans, would bear it? Will you never look to measures rather than the men who bring them forward, but always listen with partial ears to everything which that magistrate says, with prejudiced ears to what is said by any of us? But, by heaven! their language is little becoming citizens;² why, what sort of a bill is it which they are indignant should be rejected³ by you? One very like their language, citizens of Rome. "I propose,"⁴ he says, "that it be not lawful for you to make whom you like consuls." Does he propose anything else who orders that one at least of the two consuls be chosen from the commons, and does not allow you the right of electing two patricians? If there were to-day wars such as the Etruscan was, when Porsena took his post in the Janiculum, or such as was the Gallic War lately, when except the Capitol and the citadel all that you see

¹ *Abominaris*: p. 159, n. 2.

² *Civilis*: 'ut decet civem in cives.'

³ *Antiquatam* [esse].

⁴ *Rogo*: the usual form of proposing a measure (*rogatio*) to the people, who if they agreed with it replied 'uti rogas' (ch. 38, 5).

around was in the hands of the enemy, and should Lucius Sextius there stand for the consulate with Marcus Furius and any other of the patricians: could you bear that Sextius should undoubtedly be consul, but that Camillus should run the risk of repulse? Is this throwing posts of honour open to all, that it be lawful for two plebeians to become consuls, not for two patricians? and that it be necessary that one of the two be elected from the commons, and lawful to pass by both of the patrician candidates? What alliance, what community of rights, is this? Is it not sufficient if you come in for your share of that in which hitherto you had no share, unless in seeking a part you grasp the whole? ¹ "I fear," he says, "that if it be lawful for two patricians to be elected you will elect no plebeian." What is this but saying, "Because you are not likely of your own choice to elect unworthy men, I will impose on you the necessity of electing those whom you do not choose"? What follows but that, if one single plebeian stands as a candidate with two patricians, he were to owe not even an obligation to the people, and say that he was appointed by the law, not by votes?'

41. 'How they may extort, not how they may stand for honours, is their aim, and they endeavour to attain the highest place in such a manner as to owe no obligations even for the lowest; and they prefer to seek posts of honour rather by lucky opportunities than by merit. Is there anyone who would disdain to be examined and estimated; who would think it reasonable that to himself alone, amongst contending competitors, honours should be certain; who would withdraw himself from your judgment; who would make your votes compulsory instead of voluntary and servile instead of free? I leave out Licinius and Sextius, whose years of perpetual power you number in the Capitol like ² [the years] of the kings; who is there this day in the state so mean

¹ *Traxeris* [ad vos].

² *Tanquam regum*: cf. 'novem annis, quibus regnant,' ch. 40, and p. 15, n. 3.

that the road to the consulship is not made easier to him by the opportunities of this law than it is to us and to our children? if,¹ indeed, you are sometimes not to elect us even when you wish to do so, but must needs elect *them* even if you do not wish it. Of the slight put upon merit enough has been said. But, it may be asked, merit relates to human beings: what shall I say of religious obligations and the auspices,² [a slight on which] is contempt and outrage belonging solely to the immortal gods? Who is there who knows not that under auspices was this city founded, under auspices is everything carried on in war and peace, at home and in the field? In whose hands then are the auspices, according to the usage of our forefathers? Beyond dispute, in the hands of the patricians;³ for no plebeian magistrate is ever elected under auspices, while so peculiar are auspices to us that not only do the people elect in no other way than by auspices those patrician magistrates whom they do elect, but even we ourselves, without the vote of the people, appoint an interrex⁴ under auspices, and as private men we hold those auspices⁵ which these men do not hold even in office. What else then does he do but⁶ banish auspices from the state who, by making plebeian consuls, takes them away from the patricians, who alone can hold them? Let them now mock religious observances; what matter is it, they may ask, if the chickens do not feed, if they come too slowly out of their coop, if a bird utter an ill-omened cry?⁷ These are small things; but by not despising these small things our ancestors have made

¹ *Si quidem*, etc., 'if indeed, as is really to be the case.'

² *Auspiciis*: the Romans took omens, (1) from observing the flight of birds; (2) by examining the entrails of fresh-slaughtered victims (Verg. *Aen.* iv. 64); (3) by noticing whether chickens, kept for the purpose and considered sacred, ate readily or not.

³ *Penes patres*: iv. 6 (*init.*), 'nemo plebeius auspicia haberet:'.
x. 8. Cic. *De Div.* ii. 35.

⁴ *Interregem prodamus*: the 'interrex' was appointed by lot from the Senate.

⁵ *Privati auspicia habeamus*: cp. the anecdote of young Fabius, v. 46.

⁶ *Quid aliud quam tollit*: p. 19, n. 3.

⁷ *Oncocinerit*: p. 17, n. 1.

this state the greatest [in Italy]: now, as though there were no longer any need of the favour of the gods, we desecrate all religious rites. Let priests, therefore, and augurs and the sacrificial kings¹ be appointed indiscriminately; let us place Jove's sacred fillet² on any one, so long as he be a man; let us hand over the shields, the inner sanctuaries, the gods and the care of the gods, to those to whom it is a profanity [to commit them]; let no laws be passed, no magistrates elected, under auspices; let not patricians give their approval³ [to anything done] either at the assembly by centuries or by curies; let Sextius and Licinius reign in the city of Rome like Romulus and Tatius, because they make gifts of other men's money and lands. So great is the charm⁴ of plundering from the property of others; nor does it come into your minds that by the one law vast deserts are produced in the country districts by driving away proprietors from their estates; by the other, credit is destroyed, together with which all human society is abolished. On every account, my opinion is that these bills should be rejected by you. Whatever you may do,⁵ I would that the gods prosper it.'

42.

The speech of Appius had only this effect, that the time of passing the bills was postponed. The same tribunes, Sextius and Licinius, re-elected for the tenth time, carried a law for appointing the ten commissioners of religious matters in part from the commons. Five patricians were elected, five from the commons, and by that step the road to the consulship now seemed opened. Content with this victory, the commons yielded to the

¹ *Sacrificuli reges*: an important part of the duties of the kings at Rome (as in other ancient countries, especially Sparta, was to offer sacrifice in the name of the state; on the abolition of the regal office, while the political functions belonging to it were assigned to the consuls, the duty of sacrificing was given to an official, created for the purpose, called the 'rex sacrificulus,' corresponding to the Athenian *ἄρχων βασιλεύς*, whose functions were similar.

² *Apicem Dialem*: p. 91, n. 2. *Ancilia*: p. 112, n. 3.

³ *Auctores fiant*: i. 17, 'cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent.' Cf. p. 19, n. 6.

⁴ *Dulcedo*: p. 42, n. 5.

⁵ *Flavitis*: p. 189, n. 1.

patricians that, dropping all mention of consuls for the present, military tribunes should be elected. Those elected were Aulus and Marcus Cornelius for the second time, Marcus Geganius, Publius Manlius, Lucius Veturius, and Publius Valerius for the sixth time. When, except the blockade of Velitrae, a matter of slow rather than doubtful issue, the Romans had foreign affairs tranquil, the bringing of a sudden rumour of a Gallic war impelled the state to name Marcus Furius dictator for the fifth time. He named Titus Quinctius Pennus his master of the horse. Claudius¹ declares that a battle was fought with the Gauls this year on the banks of the Anio, and that the famous duel² was then fought on the bridge, in which Titus Manlius slew and despoiled of his collar a Gaul who had challenged him and whom he encountered.³ By a majority of writers, however, I am rather induced to believe that this took place not less than ten years afterwards, but that in this year a pitched battle was fought with the Gauls in the Alban territory by the dictator Marcus Furius. The victory of the Romans was neither doubtful nor difficult, although by the memory of the former defeat the Gauls had brought with them great terror. Many thousands of the barbarians were slain on the field, many when the camp was taken; the others dispersed, making chiefly for Apulia,⁴ and by long flight,⁵ as well as because panic and terror had scattered them far and wide, saved themselves from the enemy. A triumph was

¹ *Claudius*: see Introduction, 'Historical Authorities.' *Auctor esse* = 'tradere,' and accordingly gov. an acc. case: xxx. 26, 'si quidem verum est . . . quod quidam auctores sunt.'

² Described by Livy in vii. 10.

³ *Cum quo provocatus manus conservit*: more literally, 'whom he met in hand-to-hand combat on being challenged by him.'

⁴ *Apulia*, a large district in south-east Italy, on the shores of the Adriatic. The Gauls, when encountered by the Romans in the territory of Alba (*i.e.* south of Rome), must have been returning from their raids on Southern Italy, perhaps Apulia itself, where they may have left behind them part of their force, to whom they would naturally flee for assistance.

⁵ *Fuga longinqua*: from Alba they would have to pass through the territory of the Volscians or the Hernicans, and then through Samnium, to get to Apulia.

decreed the dictator by the unanimous consent of patricians and commons. A disturbance more violent than ever met him at home, when he had scarcely accomplished¹ the war; and by great struggles the dictator and Senate were overpowered, so that the bills of the tribunes were agreed to, and an election of consuls was held in spite of the nobility, at which Lucius Sextius was made the first consul from the commons. And not even this was the end of the struggle. Because the patricians refused to give their consent,² matters came very near a secession³ of the commons and other terrible threats of civil strife; when at length by means of the dictator the dissensions were settled by conditions, and a concession was made by the nobility to the commons with respect to a plebeian consul, and one by the commons to the nobility with respect to electing one praetor, to administer justice in the city,⁴ from the patricians. The two orders being thus at length restored to harmony after their long animosity, when the Senate were of opinion that this was a fit occasion, and that now, if ever at any other time, would it be in well-deserved gratitude for the services⁵ of the immortal gods, that the most splendid games should be held and one day added to the usual three, on the refusal of the task by the plebeian aediles, the young patricians cried out unanimously that they would willingly do this (namely, be made aediles), for the sake of showing honour to the immortal gods. When thanks were returned to them by one and all, a decree of the Senate was issued, that the dictator should ask⁶ of the people two men from among the patricians⁷ as aediles,

¹ *Perfunctum bello* : p. 24, n. 6.

² By refusing (as we learn from other sources) to confer upon Sextius the *imperium*, or right of military authority, which could only be given by the *comitia curiata*, the patrician assembly : p. 114, n. 2, and Introduction.

³ *Secessionem pl.* : i.e. a withdrawal from the city, which had already taken place twice : ii. 32, iii. 50.

⁴ *Qui ius diceret* : till then part of the consuls' functions. Down to the time of the decemvirs consuls bore the name of 'praetor.'

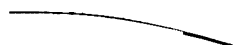
⁵ *Merito* : subst. *Triduum* : i.e. 'Latinarum' : p. 50, n. 3.

⁶ *Rogaret* : p. 199, n. 4.

⁷ *Ex patribus* : hitherto the aedileship had been a plebeian office,

and that the Senate should give their assent to all the elections of that year.

founded at the same time as the tribuneship of the commons (ii. 33): the curule (patrician) aediles, raising the number to four, were not appointed till the year after this (vii. 1. 1.). On the duties of the aediles (part of which was the superintendence of the Ludi Magni,) see Introduction.



SUMMARY OF BOOK VII.

To counter-balance the victory of the commons in throwing open the consulship to plebeians the patricians instituted two new magistracies, setting apart the judicial functions of the consuls for an official who bore the ancient name of praetor, and adding two curule aediles to the two plebeian magistrates of the same name. The latter office, however, was almost immediately thrown open to the commons.

A.U.C.
388.
B.C. 366.

Next year a great pestilence arose, which carried off, amongst other magistrates and many of the people, the famous Marcus Furius Camillus, the second founder of Rome, at an advanced age. For two years the epidemic lasted, and to appease it, first a solemn Feast of Conches was celebrated, and then dramatic performances in honour of the gods were introduced from Etruria—the origin of the Roman theatre. Still the disease raged; and the superstitious alarm of the people was aggravated by the Circus, in the midst of the performance, being flooded by the Tiber. To avert these portentous events a dictator was ordered to be appointed, in accordance with ancient tradition, for the purpose of driving in the nail annually fixed in the temple of Capitoline Jove on the ides of September. Lucius Manlius Imperiosus was made dictator; but not confining himself to the business for which he was appointed, and attempting to levy an army with excessive severity, he was so resolutely opposed by the tribunes of the commons that he was forced to resign. Not satisfied with this, Marcus Pomponius, a plebeian tribune, summoned him to answer for his tyrannical spirit, especially as displayed towards his son Titus, who was by nature dull of understanding, and was, in consequence, treated by his father as little better than a slave. But before the day of trial, the young man himself gained access to the tribune, and drawing a dagger, and menacing him with death in

A.U.C.
389.
B.C. 365.

A.U.C.
390.
B.C. 364.

A.U.C.
391.
B.C. 363.

A.U.C.
392.
B.C. 362.

case of refusal, he compelled Pomponius to swear to withdraw the charge against his father. Pleased with so courageous a display of filial affection, the people elected Titus Manlius, in spite of his want of talent and experience, one of the six military tribunes chosen by popular suffrage.

A vast chasm opened in the midst of the Forum, and on the soothsayers declaring that it could only be closed by throwing therein that which constituted the chief strength of Rome, Marcus Curtius reminded the people that their most precious possession was valour and arms; and then, solemnly devoting himself for his country, he plunged himself, on horseback and splendidly armed, into the gulf.

The same year war was declared against the Hernicans, the old allies of Rome, who had lately shaken off their allegiance. Lucius Genucius was sent against them; but falling into an ambush with his army, he was defeated and slain. The patricians exulted in the disastrous termination of the first expedition that had ever set out under the command and auspices of a plebeian consul; and Appius Claudius, the bitter enemy of the commons, was named dictator. The victory of the Hernicans had already, when he reached the army, been partially retrieved by the skill of the lieutenant Sulpicius and the courage of his men. Strongly reinforced, the Romans gave battle, burning to avenge their defeat. The Hernicans, on their side, called out every man capable of bearing arms, and formed eight cohorts of their noblest and wealthiest citizens. The battle was long and doubtful. The Roman cavalry, after in vain endeavouring to shake the enemy's ranks with their charge, dismounted and advanced on foot against the picked troops of the enemy, who at length broke and fled. The victory of the Romans was complete; but it had cost them one fourth of their army.

A.U.C.
893.
B.C. 361.

Next year Titus Quinctius Pennus was appointed dictator against the Gauls. The armies met on the banks of the Anio, the river flowing between them; and a gigantic Gaul, advancing on to the bridge over the river, challenged the bravest of the Romans to single combat. Titus Manlius, with the permission of the dictator, engaged and slew the Gallic champion, and took from him the golden chain round his neck, receiving from this incident the surname Torquatus. The Gauls broke up their camp the next night, and hastily retreated into Campania, first making

alliance with and receiving provisions from the Tiburtines, against whom, in consequence, war was declared by Rome. In the following year, the Gauls, returning to the assistance of their allies, were defeated in sight of Rome by the dictator, Servilius Ahala, and fled to Tibur, where they and the Tiburtines were again routed by the consul Paetilius, who celebrated a double triumph in consequence.

A.U.C.
394.
B.C. 360.

Again the Gauls advanced to Praeneste, and Sulpicius was made dictator. Wishing to avoid a pitched battle and wear out the enemy by a long defensive campaign he was, however, forced by the impetuosity of the troops and the advice of Sextus Tullius, a distinguished and popular centurion, as the only means of preventing open mutiny, to come to an engagement with the Gauls, whom, after a furious battle, he routed with great slaughter, partly by courage and partly by stratagem.

A.U.C.
396.
B.C. 358.

The same year two new tribes were formed. A law was passed against bribery at elections, and another the following year limiting interest to one twelfth. An incursion of the Privernatians into Roman territory was severely punished by the consul, Gaius Marcius, who distributed the whole of the booty won from them among the soldiers. Their city was taken, and a triumph held for their subjugation. A dangerous precedent was set in the same year by the consul Manlius, who held an assembly of the tribes in his camp at Sutrium for the purpose of passing laws. This was made a capital offence for the future by the tribunes of the commons. Licinius Stolo, the popular leader, was fined 10,000 *asses* under his own law for possessing more than five hundred jugers of land.

A.U.C.
397.
B.C. 357.

To meet an Etruscan invasion, Marcius Rutilus was appointed dictator, the first plebeian who ever held that distinguished office. Thwarted in every possible way by the patricians, he nevertheless gained a great victory, and was rewarded with a triumph by order of the people. In order to prevent his holding the consular elections, the patricians procured an interregnum, and, in defiance of the Licinian law, elected two of their own body to the consulate; a precedent followed in the next and several succeeding years, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the commons and their tribunes.

A.U.C.
398.
B.C. 356.

The war with Tibur and Tarquinii was brought to a successful end, and severe punishment inflicted on the inhabitants of the latter city for their massacre of Roman

A.U.C.
399.
B.C. 355.

A.U.C.
400.
B.C. 354.

prisoners at the commencement of the war. By this success the Samnites, next to Rome the most powerful country in Italy, were induced to enter into an alliance with their future rivals and conquerors. Some depredations committed on Roman territory by the people of Caere drew upon them a declaration of war, which, however, they succeeded in averting by a timely submission, pleading their friendly services at the time of the Gallic war, when the Roman priests and Vestal virgins had sought refuge with them. The burden of debt was again becoming dangerously oppressive, and to relieve it five commissioners were appointed with power to advance money from the treasury on security and to effect a fair valuation of debtors' property: these measures proved successful. As much property changed hands in this way, a new census was necessary, and Marcius Rutilus was elected the first censor, as he had already been the first dictator, from the commons. Another plebeian, Popillius Laenas, was made consul in the same year, and obtained a decisive victory over the Gauls, who had again invaded Latium: Popillius himself was wounded in the battle and was awarded a triumph for his valour and ability. The Gauls took refuge in the Alban hills, whence next year they again descended into the plains. Lucius Furius Camillus, son of the great dictator, commanded against them: a huge Gaul, challenging any Roman to meet him, was slain by Valerius with the aid of a crow, and in the conflict that ensued the Gauls were put to flight and expelled from Roman ground. A band of Greek piratical marauders, probably from Sicily, were also repulsed by Camillus.

Next year a Lectisternium was celebrated for the purpose of averting pestilence: the colony of Satricum, destroyed by the Latins, was occupied by the Antians, and a treaty of alliance was concluded with Carthage, destined to be Rome's most formidable enemy. Still further relief was given to debtors, and the rate of interest was reduced one half, to a sixth of the principal.

For two years there was peace: then a war took place with the Volscians, especially those of Antium, who were easily subdued, and their colony of Satricum burnt. A short war with the Auruncans followed, and Sora was taken from the Volscians: but a far greater struggle, greater than any in which Rome had hitherto engaged, was at hand.

The Campanians, having rashly taken up arms against the Samnites in defence of the Sidicinians, who had sought their protection, were so hard pressed by their warlike foes that they were compelled in their turn to send to Rome begging assistance. As the Samnites had not long before made a treaty of peace and friendship with the Romans, the latter would only consent to send ambassadors entreating them to spare the Campanians. Thereupon the Campanian envoys made a formal surrender of their city, land, and people to Rome: the Senate at once informed the Samnites, and first requested, then warned them, not to attack subjects of Rome. The Samnites replied with insult and defiance, and war was declared against them.

A.U.C.
411.
B.C. 343.

The consul Valerius Corvus marched to Saticula, in Campania; and, reminding the troops of their long success in war and that the highest posts in the state were now open to valour and merit, he led them against the enemy. Valerius was highly popular with the soldiers, and they followed him to battle with the utmost enthusiasm. The conflict was long and desperate: the Samnites fought with a courage the Romans had never yet encountered in the field, and the battle was only decided against them by the personal bravery of the consul and the ardour he thereby excited in his men. The enemy was defeated and his camp taken.

In the meantime the other consul, Cornelius Cossus, who had invaded Samnium, was in great peril. His army was entrapped in a mountain pass, and only saved from destruction by the skill and devotion of Publius Decius, a military tribune, who with a small body of men seized an important position and thus covered the consul's retreat. He was himself surrounded by the enemy's forces, but effected his escape in the night, and rejoined Cornelius and the main body of the army, by whom he was welcomed with great gratitude and distinction. By a sudden attack next day the Samnites were routed with great loss: Livy says 30,000 men fell. Decius and his brave companions received rich presents from the consul and their comrades for the important service they had rendered the army. A third battle at Suessula, in which 40,000 shields and 170 standards fell into the hands of the victorious Romans, concluded the campaign.

The distinguished success of the Romans over this, the most formidable enemy they had yet encountered, greatly

A.U.C.
411.
B.C. 343.

raised the respect in which they were held by their neighbours, and their new and distant friends the Carthaginians sent a crown of gold to be dedicated in the Capitol as a sign of congratulation. In the consuls' triumph the brave tribune Decius was as loudly applauded as the generals themselves.

A.U.C.
412.
B.C. 342.

A garrison of Roman troops was sent to Campania, and this nearly resulted in dangerous complications; for the men, alienated from the duty they owed their commanders and their country by the luxurious pleasures of Capua, began to form plots in secret of seizing for themselves the land they had saved from the Samnites, and shaking off their allegiance to Rome. This plan came to the ears of the consul Marcius Rutilus, who held command in Campania, and for the sake of disconcerting it he sent the mutinous troops home in detachments, on various pretexts, his colleague in Rome taking care that they did not rejoin the army. At length the men discovered the artifice, and a large body of those dismissed, instead of proceeding to the city as they were ordered, occupied a strong position at Lautulae, near Anxur, where they fortified themselves: and being reinforced they marched from thence to Alba, plundering as they went; and being in want of a leader they compelled a brave old patrician soldier, named Titus Quinctius, who had been forced to retire from the army by a wound in the foot and was now living on his farm near Tusculum, to take the command of their irregular band. On their march to Rome they were met about eight miles from the city by an army under the command of Valerius Corvus, who had been appointed dictator. The two armies met face to face: but the mutineers had already repented of their treason and felt no inclination to fight against their own countrymen. Seeing this, Valerius and their own general Quinctius addressed them in moving terms, and prevailed on the rebels to yield themselves to the honour and generosity of the dictator; who, returning to the city, exerted his influence with the Senate and people so successfully that it was resolved no punishment, and even no reproach, should be laid on the mutineers. To guard against similar occurrences in future, it was determined that no soldier's name should be struck off the roll without his own consent, and also (to gratify the resentment of the men against a centurion named Salonijs) that no military tribune should afterwards become centurion.

About the same time, and probably in consequence of the same spirit of disaffection, (though very various accounts are given of the whole affair,) the commons succeeded in passing laws, proposed by the tribune Genucius, that usury should be illegal; that no one should hold the same office twice within ten years, or two different offices in the same year; and that both the consuls *might* be plebeians: but these laws, if ever actually passed, were never strictly observed.

A.U.C.
412.
B.C. 342.



BOOK VII.

THIS year will be¹ remarkable for the consulship of a man of no family,² and also for two new magistracies, the praetorship and curule aedileship:³ these posts of honour the patricians got for themselves, in return for the concession of one of the two consulships to the commons. The commons gave the consulship to Lucius Sextius, by whose law it had been won: by their influence at the elections,⁴ the patricians obtained the praetorship for Spurius Furius Camillus, the son of Marcus; the aedileship for Gnaeus Quinctius Capitolinus and Publius Cornelius Scipio, men of their own families. To Lucius Sextius the patrician colleague given was Lucius Aemilius Mamercinus. In the beginning of the year, mention was repeatedly made both of the Gauls, who, there was a rumour, after being at first dispersed through Apulia,⁵ had now mustered together, and of a revolt of the Hernicans. As everything was purposely postponed, so that nothing might be done by means of the plebeian consul, there was silence, and a state of quiet like a formal suspension of legal business, with regard to all matters, except that, as the tribunes did not quietly put up with⁶ the nobility's having got into

1.

¹ *Erit*: i.e. to future ages: xxi. 46, 'erit iuvenis penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est.'

² *Novi hominis*: 'qui primus ex familia sua ad magistratus curules pervenit, et hinc *nobilibus* opponitur.'—Doering. Cicero was a *novus homo*.

³ *Curuli aedilitate*: the *plebeian* aedileship had existed long before: p. 204, n. 9.

⁴ *Gratia campestri*: by their popularity among the voters at the comitia centuriata, which were held in the Campus Martius: p. 164, n. 1.

⁵ *Apuliam*: vi. 42, mid.

⁶ *Patientibus tacitum*: p. 75, n. 1.

their hands, in return for one consul's being a plebeian, three patrician magistrates, sitting in chairs of state,¹ with embroidered robes and just like consuls (the praetor, too, administering justice,² and [acting] as a colleague to the consuls and elected under the same auspices³), the Senate, in consequence, felt ashamed to order the curule aediles to be elected [solely] from the patricians. At first it was agreed that they should be chosen from the commons in alternate years: afterwards the matter was left open. Then, in the consulate of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius, while affairs were tranquil, both with regard to civil dissension and to war, a great pestilence arose, to prevent them from ever being free from fear and danger. It is said that a censor, curule aedile, and three tribunes of the commons died,⁴ and that there were many deaths in proportion among the rest of the multitude; and this pestilence was rendered chiefly remarkable for the death—which, although at a ripe age,⁵ was still lamentable—of Marcus Furius Camillus. For he was of a truth an extraordinary man in every [change of] fortune: the leading man [in Rome] both in peace and war before he went into exile, and still more illustrious in exile, whether by the regret felt for him by the state, which in captivity implored the

¹ *Curulibus sellis*: p. 93, n. 5. *Prætextatos*: Roman curule magistrates, and children till they assumed the 'toga virilis,' wore a broad purple border on the toga, which was then called 'toga prætexta.' This border must not be confounded with the *latus clavus*, or stripe down the front of the *tunica*, worn only by senators.

² *Jura* are legal or judicial decisions: Hor. *Epp.* II. i. 104, *clienti promere iura.*

³ *Prætores* . . . *creatum* is in apposition (as a part to the whole) to *tres patricios magistratus*, and like that clause is governed by *sumpsisset*: or it may be taken as a sort of accusative absolute, a construction, however, hardly found in Latin and very rare in Greek.

⁴ *Mortuos* [esse]. *A bello quietis*: p. 182, n. 3.

⁵ *Matura*: Camillus had been military tribune with consular power 38 years before, and the age for that office, as for the consulship, to which it was equivalent, was in all probability 43 years; so that he must have been about 80 years old: *ἡλικίας μὲν ἑνεκα*, says Plutarch (*Camill.* 43), *καὶ βίου τελειότητος, ὥς εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων, ὥρατος.*

aid of its absent [citizen], or by the good luck with which, when restored to his country, he restored his country itself along with himself; for five and twenty years afterwards (for so many years after that event¹ did he live) he was consistent with the repute of such great glory, and was reckoned worthy of their considering him, next after Romulus, as the founder² of the Roman city.

Both this and the following year, in the consulate of Gaius Sulpicius Peticus and Gaius Licinius Stolo, the pestilence lasted. On this account, nothing worthy of mention was done, except that, for the sake of imploring the favour of the gods, there was a *Lectisternium*,³ this being the third time since the foundation of the city: and as the violence of the disease could be relieved neither by human measures nor by divine aid, men's minds being broken down by superstition, amongst other means of appeasing the anger of heaven dramatic representations⁴ also are said to have been instituted: a novelty for such a warlike people, for hitherto they had had only the shows of the circus.⁵ But even then it was only a trivial affair (as almost all beginnings are), and itself of foreign origin. Actors, summoned from Etruria,⁶ without any recitation or gestures intended to

2.

¹ *I.e.* the recovery of Rome from the Gauls.

² *Conditorem*, &c.: v. 49 (*sub fin.*), 'Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur [Camillus].'

³ *Lectisternium*: p. 43, n. 6.

⁴ This chapter is the '*locus classicus*' for the origin of the Roman drama. From the earliest times there existed in Italy rude forms of semi-dramatic art called Fescennine verses and *saturae* (see Hor. *Epp.* II. i. 139, and Verg. *G.* ii. 385): improvised dialogues, partly in prose and partly in the old Saturnian metre, without any definite plot and consisting chiefly of rough jokes on the actors themselves and the bystanders, with what are called 'topical' allusions to political events. They were performed at harvest festivals, weddings, and other holiday occasions. From this rude entertainment the regular Roman drama was developed in the manner described by Livy.

⁵ *Circi*: in which the *ludi magni* (p. 54, n. 1) were performed: it was built by Tarquinius Priscus (i. 35).

⁶ The civilisation of Etruria was much older than that of Rome (p. 16, n. 5.)

represent such recitation, used to act, not ungracefully, in the Tuscan fashion, dancing to the tunes of a flute-player. The young men [of Rome] afterwards began to imitate them, at the same time bandying jests one with another in rude verses,¹ and their gesticulation harmonised with their language. The sport, accordingly, was well received,² and improved by frequent practice. The name of *histriones* was given to the native performers,³ because in Tuscan an actor was called *ister*: they used not, as formerly, to throw off alternately rough and uncouth verses like the Fescennine⁴ at random, but they acted *Saturae*,⁵ complete with rhythmical measures, with recitation keeping time to the flute-player and with appropriate gestures. Several years afterwards, Livius,⁶ (who, instead of *Saturae*, was the first who ventured to compose⁷ a play with a regular plot,) being at the same time, as all then were, the actor [as well as the author] of his own poems, is said, after having broken his voice through being too often called upon, to have placed a boy before the musician (first asking permission to do so) to recite the words, and to have [himself] represented the action of the chant⁸ with

¹ *Simul inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus*: i.e. uniting the old Italian Fescenninae and *saturae* (see last p. n. 4) on to the Etruscan mode of musical pantomime. *Versibus inconditis*: the rude Saturnian metre, which depended, not on the number or length of the syllables in strict prosody, but solely on the rhythm of the line: an example is, 'Dabunt malum Metelli | Naevio poetae.' Horace (*Epp.* II. i. 157) calls it 'Horridus ille . . . numerus Saturnius.' *Iocularia fundentes*: Hor. *Epp.* II. i. 146, 'versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.'

² *Accepta*: Hor. *Epp.* II. i. 147. 'Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos.'

³ *Artificibus*: p. 16, n. 3.

⁴ *Fescennino versu* (= 'versui,' dat.): the Fescennine verses (note 1, above) were so called, according to some, from Fescennium, a town of Etruria. They are described by Horace in the passage already quoted, *Epp.* II. i. 139 seq. *Temere*: 'sine arte.' *Jaciebant*: p. 46, n. 8.

⁵ *Saturae*: medleys of prose and verse on all manner of subjects, without any definite plot, generally in dialogue.

⁶ *Livius* [Andronicus], the first Roman author, who produced the first regular play at Rome A.U.C. 514, B.C. 240.

⁷ *Serere* = 'conserere.' *Revocatus*: encored.

⁸ *Canticum*: a solo musical piece on the flute, prob. at the end of every act.

considerably more vigorous acting because the use of the voice did not hinder him. From this began the custom of singing to the gestures of the actors, and the dialogue alone was left for themselves to utter. After this mode of representation was summoned away from loose jest and laughter,¹ and the sport by degrees changed into an art, the young men, leaving to professional actors the performance of plays, began themselves to bandy witticisms woven into verse in the ancient fashion, which were afterwards called *Exodia*,² and inserted in plays, especially the *Atellanae*,³ a kind of sport which the young men received from the Oscans and have kept to themselves, and did not allow to be corrupted by actors: hence it remains an established usage that the actors of *Atellanae* are not expelled from their tribe,⁴ and may serve in the army as though having nothing to do with⁵ the profession of the stage. Amongst the trifling beginnings of other matters, it seemed to me that the first origin⁶ of plays should also be laid down, that it might be seen from how moderate a commencement the amusement has increased to its present mad extravagance, hardly endurable by wealthy kingdoms.

The first introduction of plays, however, intended to expiate religious scruples, neither relieved their minds

3.

¹ *Ab risu ac soluto ioco*: the partic. goes with both subst. Verg. *G.* ii. 386, 'versibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto.'

² *Exodia*, interludes or after-pieces: 'ita dictum,' says Casaubon, 'vel quia singulorum diverbiorum fini subiiciebatur, vel quia extremæ fabulae semel.'

³ '*Atellanae fabulae*,' so named from Atella, a town of Campania, were dialogues interspersed with songs in Saturnian metre, a slight general plot being first arranged, but the main part left to improvisation: they were rude and simple in character, but less licentious than other farces of similar kind (such as the mimes), and on this account the actors were treated with more respect. 'Hoc genus delectationis,' says Valerius Maximus (II. iv. 4), '*Italica severitate temperatum ideoque vacuum nota erat*.' The characters represented were chiefly Oscan. *Atellanae* were not introduced into regular literature till the time of Sulla, by Pomponius and Novius.

⁴ *Nec tribu moveantur*: as other players were.

⁵ *Expertes*: fr. *ex, pars*: 'without part or lot in.' Verg. *Aen.* iv. 550, '*thalami expertem*.'

⁶ *Prima origo*: pleonasm; cf. '*primum initium*,' iii. 54, p. 148, n. 4, and next ch.

from religious awe, nor their bodies from disease; nay, on the contrary, when the inundation of the circus by an overflow of the Tiber happened to interrupt the games in the midst, that circumstance—as if the gods were now turned from them and scorned what they offered to appease their wrath—did, indeed, cause very great terror. Accordingly, while Gnaeus Genucius and Lucius Aemilius Mamercinus were, for a second time, consuls, as the search for some means of expiation troubled men's minds more than disease did their bodies, it is said to have been gathered from the memory of the older men that a pestilence had formerly been subdued by the [annual] nail being driven in by a dictator. Induced by this superstition, the Senate ordered a dictator to be named for the sake of driving in the nail: Lucius Manlius Imperiosus, being appointed, named Lucius Pinarius master of the horse. There is an old law, written in ancient letters and terms, that whoever is chief magistrate¹ should fix a nail on the ides of September; it was driven in on the right side of the temple of Jupiter, best and greatest, on the same side as the temple of Minerva is. They say that the nail was a mark of the number of the year, because written documents² were rare in those times; and the reason why the law was consecrated in the temple of Minerva was because numbers are the invention of Minerva. Cincius,³ a careful writer on such monuments, affirms that nails were to be seen also at Vulsinii,⁴ fixed in the temple of Nortia, an Etruscan goddess, to show the number of the year. Horatius,⁵ when consul, dedicated both the law and the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great, the year after the expulsion of the kings; afterwards, the ceremony of driving in the nail was transferred from the consuls to the dictators, because that was the more important

¹ *Praetor*: an old generic word for officers of state: p. 204, n. 4.

² *Litterae*: vi. 1, n. 1.

³ *Cincius*: 'L. Cincius Alimentus, rerum Romanarum scriptor, Catonis maioris aetate viguit.'—Stroth.

⁴ *Vulsinii*: p. 77, n. 2.

⁵ *Horatius*: Marcus Horatius Pulvillus, ii. 8.

office. This custom having been afterwards dropped, it seemed a matter of sufficient importance in itself for a dictator to be appointed for its sake. For this reason, Lucius Manlius was appointed; but, just as if he had been elected for the purpose of managing the state in general, and not for releasing it from a religious obligation, being ambitious¹ to conduct the Hernican war, he harassed the young men with a severe levy; and, at length, when all the tribunes of the commons rose up against him, overcome either by force or by shame, he resigned the dictatorship.

Notwithstanding this, at the beginning of the following year, in the consulate of Quintus Servilius Ahala and Lucius Genucius, a day of trial is appointed Manlius by Marcus Pomponius, tribune of the commons. His severity in the levy, displayed not only in fines [inflicted] on citizens, but even in the laceration of their bodies (those who did not answer to their names being partly beaten with rods, partly led to prison), was hateful; and, above all, his savage temper itself was hateful, and his surname of Imperious, offensive to a free state, and adopted by him from an ostentation of cruelty, which he exercised not more in the case of strangers² than of those most nearly connected with him and of his own blood. And, among the other accusations, the tribune brought it as a charge against him, that he had banished his son, a young man convicted of no fault, as an exile from the city, his home, the gods of his hearth, the forum, the light of day, and the company of his equals in age, and had given him over to the labour of a slave, almost to the prison or the workhouse;³ where a young man of dictatorial rank, born in a family of the highest position, should learn by daily suffering that he was born of a truly 'imperious' father. And for what offence? Because he was not eloquent nor ready with his tongue. Ought such a de-

4.

¹ *Affectans* : Verg. *G.* iv. 562, 'viamque affectat Olympo.'

² *In alienis* : p. 167, n. 1.

³ *Ergastulum* (from *ἐργάσθαι*), a factory where slaves worked in chains.

fect of nature to have been carefully tended by his father, if there were anything human in him, or ought it to have been punished and made prominent by ill-usage? Not even the dumb beasts, if any of their offspring are ill-formed, nourish and cherish them a whit the less carefully; but, by heaven! Lucius Manlius increased his son's misfortune by [throwing upon him] another misfortune, and still further depressed the natural slowness of his disposition; and if there were in him any faint [sign] of natural ability, he extinguished it by keeping him among cattle, by the life of a rustic, and the education of a clown.

5.

The minds of all were exasperated by these charges rather than [the mind] of the young man himself; nay, on the contrary, grieving that he was even himself the cause of ill-will and accusations to his father, in order that all gods and men might know that he would rather give aid¹ to his parent than to his enemies, he took a resolution, [characteristic,] indeed, of a rude and clownish mind, but still laudable for its filial affection, although of a precedent unbecoming a good citizen.² Equipping himself with a dagger, without the knowledge of anyone, he proceeds early in the morning to the city, and from the gate straight to the house of Marcus Pomponius, the tribune. He tells the porter that he has need of an interview with his master immediately, [bidding him] announce that he was Titus Manlius, son of Lucius. Being introduced at once (for [Pomponius] had hopes that [the young man], stirred with anger against his father, brought some new charge or some advice for accomplishing the project), after giving and receiving salutation, he says that there are some matters which he wished to discuss with him in private.³ Then, when all were ordered to retire to a distance, he draws his knife, and standing over the couch with his blade ready to strike, he threatens that

¹ *Opem latam malle*: more literally, 'preferred [to see] aid given.'

² *Civilis*: p. 199, n. 2. *Nuntiarat* (infra): imperative, *orat. obl.*

³ *Arbitris remotis*: 'without witnesses.'

unless he swore, in words which¹ he himself had prepared, that he would never hold a meeting of the commons for the purpose of accusing his father, he would instantly stab him. The tribune, in fear and trembling, for he saw the steel glitter before his eyes, himself alone and unarmed, the other a very powerful young man and (what was no less terrible) blindly ferocious in his strength, swears to the words he was forced to; and afterwards acknowledged that, coerced by this violence, he gave up his undertaking. Nor, though the commons would have preferred to have an opportunity given them of recording their vote on so cruel and haughty a culprit, were they proportionately displeased² that a son had dared so much for his father; and it was the more laudable because such great severity of his father's had not turned his heart from filial affection. Accordingly not only was the father excused the pleading of his cause, but this occurrence even was a source of honour to the youth himself; and as it had been resolved that year for the first time that military tribunes for the legions³ should be appointed by vote (for formerly the commanders themselves used to appoint them, as they now do those whom they call *Rufuli*⁴), he obtained the second place among six, without having done any good service to win popularity either at home or in the field, as he had passed his youth in the country, and far from intercourse with men.

In the same year, either by an earthquake or some other force, the middle of the forum is said to have fallen in to an immense depth, in the shape of a kind

6.

¹ *In quas ipse concepisset verba iuraret*: p. 131, n. 2: for the structure of the sentence, cf. p. 81, n. 7; p. 107, n. 1.

² *Aegre habuit*: the same, but not so common, as '*aegre tulit*.'

³ *Tr. mil. ad legiones* 'sunt tribuni militum legionarii, ut distinguantur a tribunis militum consulari potestate nuper abrogatis. Ita milites *ad naves* sunt navales, classarii, inf. xxii. 19.'—Drakenb.

⁴ *Rufulos*: so called, acc. to Festus, from Rutilius Rufus, who instituted them: they were afterwards (from the same person) named Rutili. Those elected by popular suffrage were called '*tribuni mil. comitiati*.'

of vast cave; nor could the gulf be filled up by throwing in earth, though every one carried it industriously,¹ until by warning of the gods an enquiry began to be made, wherein the chief strength of the Roman people lay; for the soothsayers declared² that *that* must be devoted to that place, if they wished the Roman commonwealth to be perpetual. Then they say that Marcus Curtius, a young man distinguished in war, reproved them for hesitating, whether there were any good more peculiarly Roman than arms and valour; and silence being made, looking towards the temples of the immortal gods, which overhang the forum and the Capitol, and stretching his hands now towards heaven, now towards the yawning chasm in the earth to the gods of the dead,³ he solemnly devoted himself; and then, mounted on a horse equipped in the most splendid style possible, he plunged himself in full armour into the cavern, and gifts and the fruits of the earth were heaped over him by the multitude of men and women; and the lake [that formed in the opening] was called the Curtian lake, not from that ancient soldier of Titus Tatius, Curtius Mettius,⁴ but from this [young man]. Care should not be wanting [on my part] if any road would lead an enquirer to the truth. As it⁵ is now, when length of time diminishes⁶ firm confidence, we must take our stand⁷ on the tradition of events; and the name of the lake is more clearly accounted for from this later story [than from the other]. After means

¹ *Pro se* = 'pro virili parte.' *Gereret* [terram].

² *Canebant*: p. 46, n. 6.

³ *Dios manes*: lit. 'the good gods' of the infernal regions, from an old word 'manus,' good: the malevolent spirits of Hades were called 'larvae' and 'lemures.'

⁴ *Curtius Mettius*: i. 12, 13. *Tatius*: the Sabine king, afterwards associated with Romulus in the royal power at Rome. *Illo* = 'famous,' or, 'that I have already (i. 12) mentioned.'

⁵ *Nunc* often, like *viv*, has this meaning: Verg. *Aen.* x. 630, 'nunc manet insontem gravis exitus.'

⁶ *Derogat*: 'derogare legem' is to repeal *part* of an old law.

⁷ *Fama standum est*: iii. 36, 'paeniteret non prioris decretostetisse:' xxi. 19, 'prioris foedere staretur;' xxvii. 6, 'ut eo quod censuisset senatus staretur.'

had thus¹ been taken to expiate so great a prodigy, in the same year the Senate, being consulted about the Hernicans, resolved, after sending heralds² in vain to demand restitution, that on the earliest possible day a motion should be laid before the people on the subject of declaring war against the Hernicans, and the people voted that war in full assembly. The province fell by lot to the consul Lucius Genucius. The state was in anxious expectation, because he would be the first plebeian consul to conduct a war under his own auspices, being sure to regard the establishment of community of honours as well advised or otherwise, according as matters turned out. Chance so happened to order it that Genucius, setting out against the enemy with great energy, fell headlong³ into an ambush, and, the legions being routed by a sudden panic, the consul, hemmed in by men who did not know who it was they had caught, was slain. When this was announced at Rome, the patricians, by no means so much grieved by the public calamity as exulting in the unfortunate guidance of a plebeian consul, everywhere cry out, 'Let them go and elect consuls from the commons, let them transfer the auspices⁴ where it was impious to do so; the patricians might be driven from their honours by a decree of the commons; had a law passed without auspices⁵ been of any avail against the immortal gods as well? They had themselves vindicated their divinity and their auspices. As soon as they were touched by one by whom it was allowed neither by human nor divine law [that they should be touched] the destruction of the army with its general had been a warning that elections should not thenceforth be held in violation of the rights of birth.' The Senate-house and forum resound with

¹ *Procuracionem* (the technical word for averting an omen), *i.e.* by the sacrifice of Curtius.

² *Fetiales*: priests whose functions were to conclude treaties and declare war: i. 24 and 32. The formula of '*rerum repetundarum*' is described in the latter passage.

³ *Praecipitaret* [*se*]: p. 52, n. 5.

⁴ *Transferrent auspicia*, &c.: p. 201, n. 3.

⁵ *Inauspicatam*: *i.e.* a plebiscite.

these expressions. The consul Servilius, with the general consent of the patricians, appoints Appius Claudius dictator, as he now with increased authority blamed the issue of a measure that had been condemned by him, because he had been an opponent of the law; and a levy and suspension of business were proclaimed.

7.

Before the dictator and the new legions arrived among the Hernicans, matters, on a favourable opportunity [presenting itself], were admirably managed under the leadership of Gaius Sulpicius, the lieutenant-general.¹ As the Hernicans, full of contempt owing to the death of the consul, came up to the Roman camp in certain expectation of storming it, a sally was made on them by the exhortation of the lieutenant, the soldiers' minds being full of rage and indignation. The Hernicans found themselves a long way off their hope of approaching the rampart, with such disordered ranks did they retreat from thence. Then, on the arrival of the dictator, the new army is united to the old, and the forces doubled; and in public assembly the dictator, by his praises of the lieutenant and the soldiers by whose valour the camp had been defended, raises the courage of those who heard their own well-deserved praises, and at the same time stimulates the rest to rival their deeds of valour. With no less vigour are the military preparations made on the part of the enemy, who, remembering the glory they had before acquired, and not ignorant of the increased strength of the enemy, increase their own forces also. All the Hernican race, all of military age, are called out; eight cohorts of four hundred men each, the chosen strength of their warriors, are enrolled. This, the picked flower of their youth, they filled with hope and courage by the fact that they had decreed that they should receive double pay. They were also exempt² from military work, in order that, being reserved for the single labour of fighting, they might know that they ought to make greater exertions

¹ *Legati*: p. 33, n. 2.

² *Immunis*: *in, munus*: having no task to perform.

than are made by ordinary men.¹ They were also posted out of the ranks on the field of battle, that their valour might be more conspicuous. A plain two miles wide separated the Roman camp from the Hernican. There, at about equal distances from both sides, the battle was fought in the midst. At first the fight continued with doubtful hope, the Roman cavalry repeatedly endeavouring in vain to throw the enemy's array into disorder by their charge. When their fighting as cavalry was less noticeable in its effects than its great efforts, the cavalry first consulted the dictator, and then, with his permission, leaving their horses, they rush forward in front of the standards with a great shout, and recommence a new kind of battle; nor could they have been resisted, had not the extraordinary cohorts thrown themselves in their way with equal vigour both of body and spirit.

Then the struggle is carried on between the leading men of the two states: whatever the common² fortune of war carried off from the one side or the other was a loss many times more than³ proportionate to the number. The others, a mob of armed men, as if they had committed⁴ the fight to the leading men, rest the issue of their own fortunes on the valour of others. Many fall on both sides, more receive wounds: at length the knights, reproaching one another by asking 'what remained next, if they had neither driven back the enemy when on horseback nor done anything of importance as infantry? What third mode of fighting were they waiting for? Why had they rushed fiercely before the standards, and fought in a post that was not properly theirs?' and roused by these mutual speeches, press forward with a fresh shout; and first they pushed the enemy from the ground on which they stood, then they drove them back, and finally they put

8.

¹ *Pro virili parte*: vi. 11, 5, 'illius gloriæ pars virilis apud omnes milites sit.' The phrase gen. means 'with all one's might: like a brave man.'

² *Communis Mars belli*: p. 40, n. 2.

³ *Multiplex quam*: *mult.* is here = a comparative.

⁴ *Delegata*: p. 178, n. 2. *Vulgus aliud*: 'the others, who were a mob: 'not 'the rest of the mob,' p. 72, n. 3.

them decisively to flight: but it is not easy to say what circumstance overcame strength so well matched, unless it be that the constant fortune of both peoples had the effect of raising and subduing their spirits respectively. The Romans pursued the flying Hernicans right up to their camp; they refrained from attacking the camp because it was late in the day.¹ The failure to obtain good omens² had long detained the dictator, so that he could not give the signal before noon: hence the contest had been protracted till night. The next day the camp of the Hernicans was found deserted by their flight, and some of the wounded left behind; and the body of fugitives was routed and scattered in terrified flight through the country by the Signines, as their standards were seen [passing] by the walls [of that town] scantily attended.³ Nor was the victory an unbloody one to the Romans: a fourth part of the soldiers were lost, and (a matter in which there was no less loss) several Roman knights fell.

9. The following year, when the consuls Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Licinius Calvus had led an army against the Hernicans, and, finding no enemy in the open country, had taken Ferentinum, a city of theirs, by storm, as they were returning thence the Tiburtines shut their gates against them. This was the final cause (though many complaints had been bandied to and fro before) why, after restitution had been demanded by heralds,⁴ war was declared against the Tiburine people. It is sufficiently certain that Titus Quinctius Pennus was dictator that year, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis master of the horse. Licinius Macer⁵ writes that he was appointed for the sake of holding the

¹ *Serum diei*: p. 67, n. 2.

² *Perlitatum*: p. 87, n. 8, xxvii. 23 (mid.) 'hostiae maiores sine litatione caesae.' For this use of the partic., cf. i. 53. 1, 'ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori officisset;' iv. 49, 'tentatum ab L. Sextio . . . per intercessionem collegarum discussum est;' vii. 22, 'tentatum domi per dictatorem, ut,' &c.; xxviii. 26, 'ex obviis auditum postero die omnem exercitum . . . proficisci.' Verg. *Aen.* v. 6, 'notumque furens quid femina possit,' &c.

³ *Infrequentia*: adj., neut. pl.

⁴ *Per fetiales*: p. 225, n. 2.

⁵ *Macer Licinius*: (names inverted): see *Introd.*, end.

elections, and by the consul Licinius, because, as his colleague hastened to hold the elections before the war began, in order that he might continue¹ his consulship, it was necessary to thwart his misguided ambition. The fact that this was intended as a compliment to his own family renders the authority of Licinius [Macer] of the less weight; as I find no mention of this in the more ancient annals, my mind rather inclines me to believe that the dictator was appointed on account of the Gallic war. That year the Gauls certainly pitched their camp at the third milestone on the Salarian road, on the further side of the bridge over the Anio. The dictator, after proclaiming a suspension of business on account of the Gallic war so near home,² bound all the younger men by the military oath, and setting out from the city with a great army he pitched his camp on the bank of the Anio nearest to Rome. The bridge was between the two armies, neither side attempting to break it down lest that should be a symptom of fear. There were frequent skirmishes for the possession of the bridge, and as their strength was uncertain it could not be clearly decided³ which were to possess it. Then a Gaul of extraordinary size of body advanced on to the undefended bridge, and says, with the loudest voice he could, 'Come now, let the bravest man that Rome now has come forward to battle, that the fortune of us two may show which of the two nations is superior in war.'

For a long time there was silence among the noblest of the young Romans, as they were both ashamed to decline the combat and unwilling to claim the chief share of danger; then Titus Manlius, son of Lucius,

10.

¹ *I.e.* prolong: *continueret*.

² *Tumultus Gallicus*: Cic. *Phil.* VIII. i. 3, 'quid est enim aliud tumultus nisi perturbatio tanta, ut maior timor oriatur? unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus. Itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant. Gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc intelligi potest, quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu non valent.'

³ *Discerni*: '*discernere* distinguendi, dirimendi, at *decernere* diiudicandi rem dubiam, significatione usurpari solet:' i. 23, v. 55, viii. 23. 8.—Drakenborch.

who had freed his father from the persecution of the tribune, proceeds from his post to the dictator. 'Without your command, general,' he says, 'I would never fight out of the ordinary course—not if I were to see certain victory before me; if you permit me, I am willing to show that great brute, since he so ferociously capers before the enemy's standards, that I am sprung from that family which hurled a band of Gauls down from the Tarpeian rock.' Then the dictator said: 'Go on in your valour¹ and dutiful affection to your father and your country, Titus Manlius! Go, and with the aid of heaven show the Roman name invincible.' His comrades then arm the young man: he takes an infantry shield, and girds himself with a Spanish sword,² handy for close fight. When armed and equipped, they lead him forward against the Gaul, who showed uncouth joy, and (for even this seemed to the ancients worthy of remembrance) also thrust out his tongue in derision. They then withdraw to their post, and the two are left armed in the middle (more after the manner of a theatrical show than according to the laws of war) by no means well matched, in [the opinion of] those who judge by sight³ and appearance. The one had a body enormous in size, glittering in a coat of various colours and in armour painted and inlaid with gold;⁴ the stature of the other was of medium height for a soldier, and his appearance modest, with arms handy rather than splendid: he had no songs, no insulting dance or

¹ *Macte virtute esto*: orig. 'tu virtute mactus esto,' be renowned or exalted for your valour: by a kind of attraction, 'tu macte;' the partic., which is really the predicate, being attracted to the case of the subject. Or the vocative may be simply to give extra force to the imperative, which is itself merely a verbal interjection.

² *Hispano gladio*: fine steel was made in Spain: Hor. *C. I.* xxix. 15, 'loricis Hiberis:' but, as Stroth remarks, 'iam tum Romanis notum fuisse, vix credibile est.' Spanish swords are described by Livy (xxi. 46) as 'brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus.' *Cingitur*: middle, = 'cingit se,' p. 58, n. 5.

³ *Specie aestimantibus*: VI. 13. 1, 'oculis utramque metiens aciem.'

⁴ *Auro caelatis*: cf. Vergil's description of the Gauls (*Aen.* viii. 659):—

'Aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis;
Virgatis lucent sagulis; tum lactea colla
Auro innectuntur.'

idle brandishing of arms, but his breast was full of courage and silent rage: he had reserved all his fierceness for the arbitrament of strife itself. When they took their stand between the two lines of battle, while the hearts of so many men around them were suspended between hope and fear, the Gaul, like a huge mass towering over his adversary from above, thrusting forward his shield with his left hand, brought down his sword with a cut on the armour of his advancing foe with a great noise [but] ineffectually: the Roman, raising his point, after pushing aside the lower part of his shield with his own, and thrusting himself with his whole body between the body and the arms [of the Gaul] so as to be at too close quarters to be in danger¹ of a wound, with one stroke and immediately with another tore open his belly and groin, and stretched his enemy prostrate over a huge extent of ground. Then he stripped the body of his fallen foe, leaving it untouched by any other indignity, of a single collar, which, smeared with blood as it was, he threw round his own neck. Dismay and amazement had rooted the Gauls to the earth. The Romans advanced eagerly from their post to meet their champion, and conduct him to the dictator with congratulations and praise. As they uttered some rough jests, soldier-like, almost after the fashion of verses,² the surname of Torquatus was heard: being kept up [this name] was afterwards a mark of distinction even to his descendants and to his family. The dictator added the gift of a golden crown, and before a public assembly extolled that combat with extraordinary praises.

And, indeed, of such moment was the conflict with regard to the issue of the whole war, that in the next night the army of the Gauls, abandoning their camp in confusion, passed over into the Tiburtine territory, and thence, having made a warlike alliance and being

11.

¹ *Interior periculo vulneris*: 'qui prope adeo sub gladium Galli successit, ut vulnerari non potuerit' (Drakenb.); xxiv. 34, 'propius quaedam subibant naves, quo interiores ictibus tormentorum essent.'

² *Carminum*: the rude Saturnian verse chanted in a triumphal procession: p. 218, n. 1.

willingly furnished with supplies by the Tiburtines, they soon [crossed] into Campania. This was the cause why next year the consul Gaius Poetelius Balbus, as the Hernicans had fallen to the province of his colleague Marcus Fabius Ambustus, led an army by order of the people against the Tiburtines. When the Gauls returned from Campania to their aid, dreadful devastation was committed, undoubtedly under the guidance of the Tiburtines, in the Lavican, Tusculan, and Alban territory. And though the state had been contented with a consul as general against the Tiburtine enemy, the Gallic disturbance¹ compelled a dictator to be appointed. Quintus Servilius Ahala was appointed, and named Titus Quinctius his master of the horse, and, by command of the Senate, vowed the Great Games if that war turned out successfully. The dictator, ordering the consul's army to remain [where it was] to confine the Tiburtines with a war of their own, bound all the younger men by the military oath, not one declining service. A battle was fought not far from the Colline gate with the strength of the whole city, in sight of their parents, their wives, and their children: great incitements of courage even to those far from them, which then, placed before their very eyes, inflamed the troops at once with shame and compassion. After a great slaughter had been made on both sides, the line of the Gauls is at last put to rout. In their flight they make for Tibur, as the citadel of the Gallic war; being intercepted whilst straggling by the consul Poetelius not far from Tibur, when the Tiburtines sallied out to give them aid, they are driven together with the latter within the gates. Affairs were managed by the consul as well as by the dictator with great success. Fabius also, the other consul, first in small skirmishes, and at length in one glorious battle, when the enemy attacked him with their whole forces, subdued the Hernicans. The dictator, praising the consuls very highly in the Senate and before the people, and surrendering the glory of his own exploits also to them, resigned the dictatorship. Poetelius celebrated

¹ *Gallicus tumultus*: p. 229, n. 2.

a twofold triumph over the Gauls and the Tiburtines; Fabius was satisfied to enter the city in an ovation.¹ The Tiburtines derided the triumph of Poetelius: 'for where,' [said they,] 'had he fought with them in a pitched battle? A few of them who had gone out beyond the gates as spectators of the flight and confusion of the Gauls, when they saw that an attack was made on themselves also, and that those who came in the way were cut down indiscriminately, had withdrawn into the city: *that* seemed to the Romans a matter worthy of a triumph! Let them not deem it too wonderful and great a thing to raise a tumult at the enemy's gates: they should soon themselves see a greater consternation before their own walls.'

Accordingly, in the following year, in the consulate of Marcus Popillius Laenas and Gnaeus Manlius, setting out from Tibur with an army ready for battle in the first silence of the night, they came to the Roman city. The suddenness of the thing² and the midnight panic, and in addition the ignorance of many as to who the enemy were or whence they came, occasioned some terror among [the citizens] suddenly startled from their sleep: however, the cry 'To arms!' was quickly raised, and the gates were secured with guards and the walls with defenders. And when daybreak showed an inconsiderable force before the walls, and that the enemy were no others than the Tiburtines, the consuls, sallying out from two gates, attack their army on both sides as they came up to the walls, and it was evident that they had come relying on opportunity more than on their own valour: so feebly³ did they stand even the first charge of the Romans. Nay, it was even admitted that their arrival had been a good thing for⁴ the Romans,

12.

¹ *Ovans*: p. 77, n. 1.

² *Subita res*: p. 16, n. 7. It must be remembered that Tibur was not more than fifteen miles from Rome.

³ *Adeo vis*: cf. the phrases 'adeo nihil,' 'adeo nullus,' &c.

⁴ *Bono fuisse Romanis*: xxxvi. 31, 'pax omnium bono parta.' Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 5, 'accusant ii, quibus occidi patrem Sex. Roscii bono fuit.' *Phil.* II. xiv. 35, 'illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant, tibi tamen praecipue, qui non modo non servis, sed etiam regnas.' Cf. p. 22, n. 4.

and that a disturbance that was just arising between the patricians and the commons had been put down by the fear of a war so near home. There was another invasion of the enemy in the next war, more terrible to the country districts than the city. The Tarquinians overran the Roman territory, committing devastations, especially in the direction where it adjoins Etruria: and after restitution was demanded in vain, the new consuls, Gaius Fabius and Gaius Plautius, declared war on them by order of the people, and that province fell to Fabius, the Hernici to Plautius. A rumour of a Gallic war also was increasing: but amid their many terrors a peace granted to the Latins at their own request, and a large force of soldiers received from them according to the old treaty,¹ which they had neglected for many years, was a consolation to them. When the Roman fortunes were supported by this assistance, the news that the Gauls had just come to Praeneste, and from thence had encamped near Pedum, was of less importance. It was resolved that Gaius Sulpicius should be appointed dictator: Gaius Plautius the consul, summoned for that purpose, appointed him; Marcus Valerius was assigned as master of the horse to the dictator. They led against the Gauls the most efficient part of the soldiers, chosen out of the two consular armies. This war was a good deal more tedious than was agreeable to either side. When at first the Gauls alone were eager for fighting, but afterwards the Roman soldiers considerably surpassed the ferocity of the Gauls in their headstrong demand for arms and battle, it was by no means the desire of the dictator, when nothing compelled them, to commit himself to fortune against an enemy whom time would render weaker day by day as he lingered in a strange country, without supplies previously laid up, and without a strong fortified position: with such bodies and minds, moreover, that all their force was in swift attack, while at

¹ See Introduction, § 1. The Latins probably were alarmed at the approach of the Gauls, against whom Rome was their natural champion.

the same time¹ it languished even through short delay. With these designs the dictator endeavoured to protract the war, and had proclaimed a severe penalty if anyone fought with the enemy without orders. The soldiers, bearing this very impatiently, at first began to find fault with the dictator in their conversations with one another on guard and on the watches,² and sometimes blamed the patricians in general because they had not ordered the war to be conducted by means of the consuls: 'an extraordinary commander, an unrivalled general,³ had been selected, who believed that without his doing anything victory would fly down from heaven into his lap.' Afterwards they uttered these same speeches openly in broad day, and others even more menacing than these, 'that they would either fight without the orders of the general or would go in a body to Rome.' And the centurions began to mingle with the soldiers, and they not only murmured in private knots, but now their speeches began to be united at headquarters⁴ and the general's tent, and the crowd grew to the size of a public assembly and shouted from all quarters that they would go at once to the dictator and Sextius Tullius should speak in the name of the army, as was worthy of his valour.

Tullius was now for the seventh time commander⁵ of the first company [of a legion], and there was not in the army a man—at least, one who had served in the infantry—more distinguished for his exploits. He, at the head of a body of soldiers, proceeds to the tribunal, and to Sulpicius (who was not more astonished at the crowd than at Tullius, the leader of the crowd, a soldier

13.

¹ *Eadem*: p. 68, n. 1. For the character of the Gauls, cf. Appendix to Book V.

² *Stationibus vigiliisque*: the former by day, the latter by night.

³ *Unicum ducem*: p. 139, n. 3. *Sinum*: p. 154, n. 6.

⁴ *In principis*: the parade-ground, or open space in the centre of the camp, where meetings of the soldiers ('contiones,' ch. 10. 14; ch. 36. 9; ch. 37. 1, &c.) usually took place. *Prætorium*: p. 69, n. 1.

⁵ *Primum pilum ducebat* = 'primi pili (i.e. the company of the *triarii*: p. 67, n. 4) centurio:' cf. ch. 41. 4, 'ne quis, ubi trib. mil. fuisset, postea ordinum ductor esset.'

most obedient to authority) he says: 'With your permission, dictator, the whole army, believing itself condemned by you of cowardice¹ and almost kept without arms by way of disgrace, has entreated me to plead its cause with you. Indeed, if desertion of our post anywhere, if turning our backs to the enemy, if a disgraceful loss of our standards could be laid to our charge, I should still think it just that we should obtain this favour from you, that you would suffer us to repair² our fault by our valour and blot out the memory of our disgrace by new glory. Even the legions routed at the Alia afterwards set out from Veii and recovered by valour the same country which they had lost by panic. We, by the kindness of the gods and by your good fortune and that of the Roman people, have both our cause and our glory uninjured: although I would hardly venture³ to speak of glory, if the enemy is to mock us with every kind of insult, while we hide ourselves just like women within the rampart, and you, our commander (a thing that we are still more vexed at), judge your army to be without spirit, without arms, without hands, and, before you have made trial of us, have so despaired of us as to judge yourself to be the general of cripples and weaklings. For what else can we believe to be the cause⁴ why you, a veteran general, most courageous in war, sit still with folded hands, as they say? For, however matters may be, it is fitter that you should seem to have doubted our courage, rather than we yours. If, however, this scheme is not yours, but a public one, and some conspiracy of the patricians, not the Gallic war, keeps us in exile from the city and from our hearths, I beg you to consider what I am going to say not as said by soldiers to their commander but to the patricians by the commons (and who, in the name of heaven, can be angry if they tell you that, as

¹ *Condemnatum ignaviae*: p. 65, n. 1.

² *Corrigere*: p. 72, n. 4.

³ *Ausim*: p. 21, n. 1.

⁴ *Si* = 'si quidem,' 'quoniam' (p. 201, n. 1); vii. 31, 6, Verg. *G.* i. 7.

⁵ *Causae*: perhaps dative.

you have plans of your own, so will they have theirs?): namely, that they are neither soldiers nor slaves of yours: that they were sent to war, not into exile; if any one give the signal and lead them out into the field, they will fight as is worthy of men and Romans: if there be no need of their arms, they will spend their leisure at Rome rather than in the camp. Let this be [considered as] said to the patricians; as your soldiers, we entreat you, general, to give us an opportunity of fighting: we desire to conquer, and to conquer under your leadership; to confer on you the glorious laurel, to enter the city in triumph with you, to approach the temple of Jove supremely good and great¹ following your car with congratulations and rejoicings.' The entreaties of the multitude followed the speech of Tullius, and from every side they cried out that he should give the signal and order them to take arms. .

Although the dictator perceived that a good result was brought about by a precedent that he could not approve, still he undertook to do² what the soldiers wished, and enquires of Tullius privately 'what kind of a proceeding was this, or on what precedent was it done?' Tullius earnestly begged the dictator 'not to believe him forgetful of military discipline, of himself or of the dignity of the general: he had not withheld himself as leader from the excited multitude, which generally resembled its instigators, for fear that some other should come forward such as an angry multitude usually elected; for he, for his own part, would do nothing without the will of his commander. The latter, however, must also carefully look out, in order to keep the army under his control: minds so excited could not be put off; ³ they would take for themselves

14.

¹ *Iovis O. M. templum*: the triumphal procession used to mount the slope of the Capitol, and the victorious general offered a bull to Jupiter.

² *Facturum se recepit* = 'promisit,' but stronger: xxxiii. 13, 'obsides pecuniamque reddi Philippo receptum est:' xl. 35, 'quicquam recipere aut affirmare nobis potes.' Cic. *Ad Fam.* xiii. 10, 'promitto inque me recipio:' *ib.* 17, 'spondeo inque me recipio.' Ter. *Phorm.* V. viii. 8.

³ *Differri animos*: '*differre aliquem* eodem modo dicitur atque

place and time for fighting, if it were not given by the commander.' While they are saying this, two Roman soldiers took away from a Gaul, who was driving them off, some oxen that happened to be feeding outside the rampart. Stones were thrown at them by the Gauls: then a shout was raised from the nearest Roman guard-post, and a rush forward was made on both sides. And now matters were not far from a regular engagement, had not the conflict been promptly arrested by the centurions; the assurances of Tullius were certainly confirmed in the dictator's eyes by this event, and as things admitted no longer of any delay, a proclamation is issued for the next day that they were to fight in battle array. The dictator, however, as one who went into battle relying on the spirit rather than the actual strength of his men, began to look about and ponder everything, in order to strike terror into the enemy by some artifice. With inventive mind he contrives a new project, which many¹ of our own and foreign generals, some even in our time, have since employed. He orders the pack-saddles to be taken off the mules, leaving only two stable-cloths² each, and mounts the muleteers on them, equipped with arms partly belonging to the prisoners, partly to the sick. Preparing about a thousand of these, he mixes with them a hundred regular cavalry, and orders them to go up during the night into the hills above the camp and conceal themselves in the woods, and not to stir from thence until they received a signal from him. When day dawned, he himself began purposely to extend his line along the base of the hills, in order that the enemy might stand

trahere aliquem, i.e. rem, quam quis agit, differre, trahere: 'xxv. 25, 'cum longo sermone habito dilatus per frustrationem esset: 'xli. 8, 'legati Sardorum, qui ad novos magistratus dilati erant.' Cf. ii. 23, 'eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare.'

¹ *Multi*: the stratagem was tried by the Scots at Bannockburn.

² 'Ne sagmae vel clitellae (*strata*) asperitate sua iumenta laederent, . . . *centunculos* subiiciebant, i.e. pannos viliores crassioresque, et eos saepe plures. Ideo autem dictator *mulis strata detraxi* iubet, quia strata illa sive clitellae longe ultra dorsum animalis eminebant; quare, si sedissent in clitellis, dolus facile fuisset deprehensus, cum sic visi essent altiores quam solerent vulgo equites.'—Drakenb.

facing the hills. The means of striking groundless terror being ready (a terror which, indeed, was of almost more service than real strength), the leaders of the Gauls at first believed that the Romans would not come down into the open, and then, when they suddenly saw them already descended, they also, eager for the fight, rush to the encounter; and the battle began before the signal was given by the leaders.

The Gauls attacked the right wing more fiercely [than the other], nor could they have been withstood had not the dictator happened to be in that quarter, chiding Sextius Tullius by name and asking him 'was that the way he had promised that the soldiers would fight? where were those shouts of men demanding arms, where were the threats that they would begin the battle without the orders of their general? Lo, the general himself called them with a loud voice to battle and advanced in arms before the foremost standards: who would follow of those who were lately going to lead the way, so fierce in the camp, so timid on the field of battle?' What they heard was true: and therefore shame applied such sharp goads that they rushed on the enemies' weapons with hearts estranged from all thought of peril. This almost frantic charge first threw the enemy into disorder, then the cavalry charging them while thus disordered put them to flight. The dictator himself, when he saw their line wavering in one direction, wheels round the standards to the left wing, where he saw a crowd of the enemy gathered, and gave to those who were on the hill the signal which had been agreed on. When a fresh shout arose from that quarter also, and they seemed to be making their way sideways down the hill¹ towards the camp of the Gauls, then, through fear lest they should be cut off from it, the battle was given up and they rushed with headlong speed to the camp. When they were met there by Marcus Valerius, the master of the horse, who, after dispersing their left wing, was riding towards the enemy's fortifications, they turn their flight to the hills

15.

¹ 'Obliquo monte est oblique per montem.'—Drakenb.

and woods, and very many were there cut off by the feigned show of horsemen and the muleteers,¹ and after the battle was finished there was a dreadful slaughter of those whom panic had carried into the woods. Nor did anyone after Marcus Furius [Camillus] celebrate a more complete² triumph over the Gauls than Gaius Sulpicius. A very considerable weight of gold also from the Gallic spoils he dedicated in the Capitol, enclosed in hewn stone. The same year war was carried on by the consuls also with varied success; for the Hernicans were conquered and subdued by Gaius Plantius, but his colleague Fabius fought against the Tarquinians incautiously and ill-advisedly. And the loss sustained there in the battle was not so important as the fact that the Tarquinians slaughtered three hundred and seven Roman soldiers that they had captured, by which brutality of punishment the disgrace of the Roman people was rendered much more flagrant. To this disaster was also added the ravages on Roman territory which the Privernatians, and afterwards the Velitans, committed by a sudden incursion. The same year two tribes,³ the Pomptine and Publilian, were added; the votive games, which Marcus Furius the dictator had vowed, were performed; and a proposal was then for the first time laid before the people by Gaius Poetelius, tribune of the commons, regarding bribery at elections,⁴ with the approval of the patricians; and they believed that by that bill the ambition of new men in particular, who had been accustomed to go round to markets⁵ and places of assembly, was crushed.

¹ *Equitum specie agasonibusque*: the two are really identical, the latter (as often in Vergil) explanatory of the former, or epexegetical, as it is called.

² *Justiore triumpho*: p. 33, n. 5. Hor. *C. I.* xii. 54, 'egerit in domino triumpho.'

³ *Duae tribus*: raising the total to twenty-seven: vi. 5, 8.

⁴ *De ambitu*: illegal canvassing of any kind. *Novorum hominum*: ch. 1, n. 2.

⁵ *Nundinae* ('novem dies'): the Roman, like the old Aryan, week consisted of eight days. At these 'nundinae' laws were published to the people ('promulgatio trinum nundinum,' Cic. *Phil.* V. iii. 8).

16.

Not equally acceptable to the patricians was a law passed in the following year, in the consulate of Gaius Marcius and Gnaeus Manlius, by Marcus Duillius and Lucius Menenius, tribunes of the commons, regarding interest [being fixed] at one twelfth; ¹ and the commons decreed it much more eagerly. In addition to the new wars determined on the year before, the Faliscans also sprang up as enemies on a double charge, ² because their young men had fought on the side of the Tarquinians, and also because, after the unsuccessful battle, they had not given up to the demand of the Roman heralds those who had made their escape to Falerii. That province fell to Gnaeus Manlius. Marcius led his army into the Privernatian territory, which had remained intact owing to prolonged peace, and gave the soldiers their fill of plunder. To the abundance of property he added an act of liberality, in that by setting aside nothing for the public treasury he favoured the soldiers in their efforts to increase their private property. When the Privernatians had posted themselves before the walls in a well-fortified camp, summoning the troops to an assembly, he said: 'I now give you the camp and city of the enemy as your spoil, if you promise me that you will exert yourselves bravely on the field of battle and not be more ready for plunder than for fighting.' With loud shouts they demand the signal, and advance to the battle elated ³ in spirits and confident with certain hope. Then, in front of the standards, Sextius Tullius, of whom we have spoken before, exclaims, 'Behold, general, how your army performs its promises to you!' and laying down his javelin, he drew his sword ⁴ and attacks the enemy. All the van ⁵ follow Tullius, and at the first charge they

¹ *De unciario fenore*: 'unciarium fenus' was one 'uncia' (p. 63, n. 2) in the 'as' per annum, i.e. $\frac{1}{12}$ of the principal, = $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

² *Duplici crimine*: i.e. war was declared against them by the Romans on two grounds.

³ *Celsi*: xxx. 32, 'celsus hæc corpore dicebat.'

⁴ Cp. vi. 12, 8, 'pilis ante pedes positis, gladiis tantum dextas armemus.'

⁵ *Antesignani*: picked veterans who fought in front of the eagles (*signa*).

put the enemy to flight: then, pursuing them when routed to the town, as they were just applying the scaling-ladders to the walls they admitted the city to a surrender. A triumph was celebrated over the Priver-natians. By the other consul nothing memorable was achieved, except that by a novel precedent he passed a law at Sutrium in the camp by a vote of the tribes relating to a twentieth part [of the price] of those who were set free by manumission [being paid to the state]. The Senate gave their sanction, because by this law no slight revenue was added to the treasury, which was poor; but the tribunes of the commons, influenced not so much by the law as by the precedent, passed a law making it a capital offence¹ for anyone in future to summon the people away from the city; for if that were allowed, there was nothing, however injurious to the people, that could not be passed by means of soldiers who had sworn to [obey] the words of the consul. The same year Gaius Licinius Stolo was sentenced to a fine of 10,000 *asses* on his own law² at the suit of Marcus Popillius Laenas, because he possessed with his son a thousand jugers of land, and had attempted to defraud the law by emancipating³ his son.

17. The new consuls after this, Marcus Fabius Ambustus a second time, and Marcus Popillius Laenas a second time, had two wars; one, an easy one, with the Tibur-tines, which Laenas managed, who drove the enemy into their city and laid waste the land: the Faliscans and Tarquinians routed the other consul at the beginning of the battle. The greatest terror arose from this, that their priests, bearing before them burning torches⁴ and

¹ *Capite*: 'proposita capitis poena.'

² *Sua lege*: vi. 35, 5.

³ *Emancipando*: 'emancipari filii dicuntur, cum ex patria potestate dimittuntur, ut sui iuris sint.'—Stroth. The power of a Roman father over his son was as absolute as over his slaves, his property, or his wife; he could put him to death or sell him for a slave if he chose, and had a right to claim any property of his: the son in fact was *in manu patris*, unless formally emancipated like a slave.

⁴ *Faciibus*, &c.: iv. 33. Frontin. ii. 4, 'Falisci et Tarquinienses compluribus suorum in habitu sacerdotum subornatis, facies et an-gues furiali habitu præferentibus, aciem Romanorum turbaverunt.'

serpents [and advancing] with the gait of furies,¹ disconcerted the Roman soldiers by their extraordinary appearance. And then, indeed, they rushed into their fortifications in a terrified band, as though frenzied² and thunderstruck; afterwards, when the consul and lieutenants and tribunes began to ridicule and chide them for being panic-stricken at idle marvels like boys, shame suddenly changed their feelings, and they rushed blindly on those very things which they had fled from. Accordingly, scattering the idle contrivance of the enemy, and charging upon the armed men themselves, they put the whole array to flight, and having got possession of the camp also the same day, and won vast spoil, they returned victorious, ridiculing the enemy's contrivance, as well as their own panic, in military jests. Subsequently, all the Etruscan name is aroused, and under the guidance of the Tarquinians and Faliscans, they come to the Salt-Pits. To meet this alarm, Gaius Marcius Rutilus was appointed dictator, the first from the commons, and named Gaius Plautius, likewise from the commons, master of the horse. But this seemed to the patricians a dishonourable thing, that even the dictatorship should now be open to all; and they endeavoured, with all their might, to prevent anything being decreed, or prepared for the dictator for that war. The more promptly on that account did the people vote the propositions of the dictator. Setting out from the city on both sides of the Tiber, and ferrying his army across on rafts, wherever rumours of the enemy led him, he surprised many ravagers of the land as they wandered straggling about: attacking their camp also, unexpectedly, he took it; and having captured eight thousand of the enemy, and either slain or chased from Roman territory the rest, he triumphed by order of the people, without the permission of the Senate. Because they wished the consular elections to

¹ *Furiali*: p. 45, n. 3.

² *Lymphati*: x. 28, 10, 'equitatum lymphaticus pavor dissipat.' Hor. *C. I.* xxxvii. 14, 'mentemque lymphatam Mareotico.' *Lymphatus* = *νυμφόληπτος*, 'lympa' and 'nympha' being the same word; perhaps = 'seized with hydrophobia.'

be held neither by a plebeian dictator nor consul, and the other consul, Fabius, was detained by the war, matters came to an interregnum. Quintus Servilius Ahala, Marcus Fabius, Gnaeus Manlius, Gaius Fabius, Gaius Sulpicius, Lucius Aemilius, Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Fabius Ambustus were interreges in succession. In the second interregnum, a dispute arose because two patrician consuls were elected,¹ and when the tribunes protested, Fabius, the interrex, said that 'it was a law in the Twelve Tables,² that whatever the people had ordered last, that should be law, and binding: votes, too, were the order of the people.' When the tribunes by their protest had been able [to effect]³ nothing else than to put off the elections, two patricians, Gaius Sulpicius Peticus, a third time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola were elected consuls, and entered office the same day.

18. In the four hundredth year after the Roman city was founded, and the thirty-fifth after its recovery from the Gauls, the consulship was taken away from the commons, after eleven years' [possession], and the consuls, both patricians, entered on their office after the interregnum. Empulum was taken from the Tiburtines this year, after a struggle not worth mention, whether the war was waged there under the auspices of the two consuls, as some write, or whether the lands of the Tarquinians also were laid waste by the consul Sulpicius during the same time as Valerius led his legions against the Tiburtines. At home, the consuls had a more important struggle with the commons and their tribunes. They thought it to be now a question of their honour,⁴ not only their courage, as they, two patricians, had received the consulship, to entrust it in like manner to two other patricians: nay, they ought either to give up the whole, so that the consulship might now become a plebeian magistracy, or get possession of the whole—a

¹ *Creabantur*: rather, 'were proposed to be elected': the imperf. shows that the election was not completed.

² *In duodecim tabulis*: p. 138, n. 2.

³ *Nihil aliud [facere] valuisse*: p. 19, n. 3.

⁴ *Fidei iam suae ducebant esse*: p. 20, n. 4.

possession which they had received from their fathers unimpaired. The commons, on the other hand, murmured loudly: 'Why did they live, why were they reckoned by the censors as part of the citizens, if they collectively could not maintain what had been won by the courage of two men—Lucius Sextius and Gaius Licinius? Either kings or decemvirs or any other still more hateful name of government, if there were one, had better be endured than see both the consuls patricians, and not obey and rule in turn, but for one half, settled in perpetual authority, to think the commons born for no other purpose than to be slaves.' The tribunes are not backward in encouraging riots, but, in the excited state of all, scarcely any leaders are pre-eminent. After they had several times gone down to the Campus [Martius] in vain, and many assembly-days had been spent in civil disturbances, the resentment of the commons, overcome by the persistence of the consuls, at last broke out to such a degree that they sorrowfully followed the tribunes, exclaiming that there was¹ an end of liberty, and they must now abandon, not only the Campus, but even the city, which was enslaved and oppressed by the tyranny of the patricians. Abandoned by part of the people, the consuls finish the elections with none the less energy in the scanty attendance. Both the consuls elected were patricians, Marcus Fabius Ambustus a third time, and Titus Quinctius. In some annals I find Marcus Popillius [given as] consul, instead of Titus Quinctius.

Two wars were successfully conducted that year. With the Tiburtines, the contest was pushed to their complete surrender. Sassula, a city of theirs, was taken, and the other towns would have shared the same fate, had not the whole nation laid down their arms and put themselves under the protection of the consul.² A triumph was celebrated over the Tiburtines; otherwise the victory was lenient. Against the Tarquinians,

19.

¹ *Actum esse de*: corresponding to the vulgar phrase, 'all was up with.'

² *In fidem consulis*: cf. 'fidem implorare deorum,' &c. They 'throw themselves on his mercy.'

rigorous severity was shown; many men were slain in battle, and out of a vast number of prisoners, 358 were selected—every one of the highest rank—to be sent to Rome; the rest—that is, the multitude¹—were butchered. Nor were the people more lenient towards those who had been sent to Rome: they were all beaten with rods, and beheaded in the midst of the forum. This punishment was in retaliation for² the Romans who were slaughtered in the forum of the Tarquinians. The successes in war induced the Samnites also to seek their friendship. A courteous answer was given their ambassadors by the Senate; they were admitted into alliance by a treaty. The Roman commons had not the same fortune at home as in war. For although usury had been relieved by fixing interest at one twelfth, the poor were overwhelmed by the principal itself, and gave themselves up to confinement;³ on this account, they paid no attention either to both consuls being patricians, or to the business of the elections, or matters of public interest, by reason of their private troubles. Both consulships remain in the hands of the patricians: the consuls elected were Gaius Sulpicius Peticus a fourth time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola a second time. As the attention of the state was turned towards the Etruscan war, because rumour asserted that the people of Caere⁴ had joined the Tarquinians through compassion on the ground of relationship, ambassadors of the Latins drew their attention to the Volscians, announcing that an army, enrolled and armed, was already threatening their frontier; from thence they would enter the Roman territory, in search of plunder. The Senate, therefore, voted that neither affair ought to be neglected, and ordered that troops should be enrolled for both purposes, and that the consuls should decide their pro-

¹ *Vulgus aliud*: p. 227, n. 4.

² *Pro immolatis*: 15, 10. *Id poenae*: p. 18, n. 4.

³ *Nexum*: 'liber qui suas operas in servitutem pro pecunia, quam debebat, dabat dum solveret, *nexus* vocatur:' also, as here, *nexus* means the condition of such an insolvent debtor.—Varro. *Cf.* ii. 23 (*init.*)

⁴ *Caeritem populum*: p. 93, n. 3.

vinces by lot.¹ The greater part of their anxiety afterwards inclined to the Etruscan war, when it was ascertained by a letter of the consul Sulpicius, to whom Tarquinius had fallen as his province, that the land round the Roman Salt-pits had been devastated, and part of the booty carried off into the territory of the Caeritians, and that the young men of that state had undoubtedly been among the plunderers. The Senate, accordingly, recalled the consul Valerius, who was opposed to the Volscians and had his camp on the Tusculan frontier, and ordered him to nominate a dictator. He named Titus Manlius, the son of Lucius. He, after appointing Aulus Cornelius Cossus his master of the horse, content with the army already raised by the consuls, declared war against the Caeritians by command of the Senate and order of the people.

Then, for the first time, did real ² fear of war enter the hearts of the Caeritians, as though there were greater power in the words of the enemy to indicate war than in their own acts, who had provoked the Romans by their ravages: and they perceived how disproportionate to their strength that contest was, and repented of their ravages, and cursed the Tarquinians for being the authors of the revolt; nor did anyone advise them to prepare arms or war, but everyone for himself [recommended] that ambassadors should be sent to beg forgiveness for their error. When their ambassadors applied to the Senate, and were by the Senate referred to the people, they prayed the gods, whose sacred things they had received ³ and duly cared for in the Gallic war, that the same compassion for them might possess the Romans in their prosperity, as had formerly possessed themselves in the shattered fortunes of the Roman people:⁴ and turning to the shrine of Vesta, they in-

¹ *Sortiri provincias*: p. 180, n. 1. Verg. *Aen.* iii. 510, 'sortiti remos.'

² *Verus timor*: perhaps 'well-grounded.' Hor. *C. I.* xxxvii. 15, 'redegit in veros timores Caesar.'

³ *Bello Gallico accepta*: v. 40.

⁴ *Populi R.* may be gov. by *rebus affectis*, or by *quae* [misericordia].

voked the hospitality which had been shown by them with such pure and religious zeal to the Flamens and the virgins of Vesta: 'Would anyone believe that men who had done such good service as that had suddenly and causelessly become their enemies? or, if they *had* committed any hostile act, that they had, through design rather than led astray by frenzy,¹ acted in such a way as to blot out² their ancient acts of kindness, especially when conferred on³ so grateful a people, by their recent acts of unkindness, and to choose to themselves as enemies the Roman people, when flourishing and at the height of success in war, whose friendship they had sought after when it was in distress? Let them not call design that which⁴ ought rather to be called force and necessity. The Tarquinians, passing through their country with a hostile army, after asking for nothing except a passage, had taken with them some peasants to accompany them in those ravages which were brought as a charge against *them*. They were prepared to surrender them, if it was their pleasure that they should be surrendered, or if [they desired] that they should be visited with punishment, they⁵ should pay the penalty [of their crime]. Let them grant to the hospitality shown towards the Vestal virgins, and the respect shown to the gods, that Caere—the sanctuary of the Roman people, the shelter of their priests, and the refuge of the sacred things of Rome—should be left untouched and unharmed by the charge of war.' Not so much their present cause as their old services induced the people to forget the injury rather than the kindness. Accordingly, peace was granted to the people of Caere, and it was resolved that the making of a truce for a hundred years should be inserted in a decree of the Senate. The force of war was turned against the Faliscans, who were

¹ *Consilio magis quam furore lapsos*: zeugma: a suitable participle (e.g. 'motos,' 'ductos') must be supplied with 'consilio,' to which 'lapsos' cannot properly belong.

² *Corrumpere*, the opposite of *corrigere*: p. 72, n. 4.

³ *Locata*: as a *νοτακαταθήκη*, or fund of gratitude.

⁴ *Consilium quæ esset*: p. 31, n. 5.

⁵ Notice the change of subject in *se paratos* and *datorios*.

implicated in the same charge; but the enemy was nowhere found. Though their territory was traversed in every direction, with devastation, they refrained from attacking the cities; and, on the legions being brought back to Rome, the rest of the year was spent in repairing the walls and towers, and the temple of Apollo was dedicated.

At the end of the year, a dispute between the patricians and the commons interrupted the consular elections; the tribunes refusing to allow elections to be held unless they were held in accordance with the Licinian law, the dictator being determined to do away with the consulate out of the state altogether rather than make it common to patricians and commons. When, therefore, the dictator had gone out of office, by the repeated postponement of the elections, matters returned to an interregnum. Then, the interreges finding the commons at enmity with the patricians, the struggle was carried on with great commotions till the eleventh interrex. The tribunes incessantly brought forward the duty of protecting the Licinian law; the trouble of the increasing weight of interest came more home to the commons, and their private cares used to break out in the public contests. Through weariness of all this, the patricians, for the sake of harmony, bade Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the interrex, observe the Licinian law in the consular elections. To Publius Valerius Publicola, Gaius Marcius Rutilus was given as his plebeian colleague. When their minds were once inclined to harmony, the new consuls, attempting to relieve the question of interest also, which alone seemed to prevent unanimity, turned the payment of debt into a matter of public concern, and appointed five commissioners, whom from their management of funds they called bankers.¹ They deserved by their fairness and diligence to be commemorated by name in the records of all histories: now, they were Gaius Duillius, Publius Decius Mus, Marcus Papirius, Quintus Publilius, and Titus Aemilius: who undertook,

21.

¹ '*Mensarii rem nummariam publicam, argentarii privatam tractabant.*'—Sigonius. *Mensarii* = *τραπεζίται*.

with moderation in other respects, and especially with public expense rather than [public] loss, a business very difficult to manage, and offensive generally to both parties, always to one of them at any rate. For the tardy¹ debts and those which were more troublesome by the indifference of the debtors than by their [want of] means were either paid off by the treasury (tables with money being placed in the forum), [taking care] that the people first received security,² or were freed by a valuation of their property at fair prices; so that not only without injury, but even without complaints on either side, an immense amount of debt was abolished. Afterwards, a groundless alarm of an Etruscan war, as there was a rumour that the twelve states had conspired, forced a dictator to be appointed. Gaius Julius was appointed in the camp (for thither was the decree of the Senate sent to the consuls), to whom Lucius Aemilius was attached as master of the horse. But all was quiet abroad.

22. At home, an attempt made³ by means of the dictator, that the consuls elected might be both patricians, brought matters to an interregnum. The interposition of two interreges, Gaius Sulpicius and Marcus Fabius, obtained what the dictator had in vain striven for,⁴ as the commons were now calmed by the recent service done them in the relief of debt: namely, that both the consuls elected should be patricians. Those elected were Gaius Sulpicius Peticus himself, who was the first of the two who resigned the interregnum, and Titus Quinctius Pennus: some attach the name of Caeso, others that of Gaius,⁵ to Quinctius. They both set out to the war, Quinctius to the Faliscan, Sulpicius to the Tarquinian; and, as the enemy nowhere encountered

¹ *Tarda nomina*: 'creditores nomina debitorum una cum summa ipsis credita in tabulas suas expensarum referebant; hinc *nomen* tam de debito, quam de debitore dicitur.'—Stroth. Hor. *Ep.* II. i. 105, 'cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos.'

² *Caveretur*: see the line of Horace quoted above.

³ *Tentatum*: p. 228, n. 2.

⁴ *Tetenderat*: p. 35, n. 1.

⁵ *Gaium*: p. 31, n. 2.

them in a pitched battle, they waged war rather with the land than the men, by burning and laying waste the country; through the exhaustion¹ caused by this lingering consumption (as it were), the obstinacy of both states was overcome, so that they begged for a truce, first from the consuls, then by their permission from the Senate. They obtained one for forty years. When the care of the two wars which were then hanging over them was thus laid down, and while there was some repose from arms, it was resolved that a census² should be held, because the payment of debt had changed the owners of much property. But when an assembly was proclaimed for the election of censors, Gaius Marcius Rutilus, who had been the first plebeian dictator, disturbed the harmony of the orders by declaring³ himself a candidate for the censorship; which he did, indeed, seem to have done at an unseasonable time, because both the consuls then happened to be patricians, and they refused to admit him as a candidate; but, by perseverance on his own part, he succeeded in his undertaking, and the tribunes also, endeavouring to win back a right that had been lost in the consular elections, assisted him with all their might: moreover, the high character of the man himself made him fit for the dignity of any honour, however great; and, at the same time, the commons desired that the censorship also should be brought within their participation⁴ by means of the same man who had opened the way to the dictatorship. Nor was there any change of opinion at the elections to prevent Marcius being made censor together with Gnaeus Manlius. This year also had Marcus Fabius as dictator: not for any alarm of war, but in order that the Licinian law might not be observed at the consular elections. Quintus Servilius was attached

¹ *Senio* = 'taedio': 'nam quod nimis diu durat et quasi conuenescit taedium creat.'—Doering. Cf. p. 58, n. 4.

² *Census*: a general assessment of property as well as what is now called a census. See Introduction.

³ *Professus*: vi. 15, 8, 'proffiteri patrocinium feneratorum adversus plebem.'

⁴ *In partem vocari*: p. 57, n. 3.

to the dictator as master of the horse. Nevertheless, the dictatorship rendered this combination of the patricians no more effectual at the elections for consuls, than it had been at those of censors.

23.

Marcus Popillius Laenas was appointed consul by the commons, Lucius Cornelius Scipio by the patricians. Fortune, too, rendered the plebeian consul the more distinguished: for when news was brought that a vast army of Gauls had pitched their camp in the Latin territory, as Scipio was attacked with dangerous illness, the Gallic war was assigned out of course¹ to Popillius. He, enrolling an army with great energy, ordered all the younger men to meet armed outside the Capenian gate at the temple of Mars and the quaestors to bring the standards out of the treasury² to the same place, and thus filled up four legions, and handed over the surplus soldiers³ to the praetor Publius Valerius Publicola, advising the Senate to enrol another army to be a reserve to the state against the uncertain events of war. Having now sufficiently arranged and prepared all things, he proceeds himself against the enemy: and in order to ascertain their strength before he tested it by the final hazard, he began to throw up a rampart on some rising ground, the nearest which he could select to the camp of the Gauls. They, being a fierce race and of a disposition eager for battle, on seeing the Roman standards afar off, had drawn out their forces in battle array, making sure that they would enter on an engagement immediately: after they saw that the [Roman] army was neither led down to level ground, and that the Romans were protecting themselves not only by the height of their position, but also by a rampart, thinking them struck with panic and at the same time more exposed to attack⁴ because they were then chiefly intent on their work, they assail them with

¹ *Extra ordinem*: p. 167, n. 2.

² *Ex aerario*: where they were kept in time of peace.

³ *Quod superfuit militum*: vi. 15, 9, 'ex eo, quod affuit opibus vestris.'

⁴ *Opportuniores*: p. 170, n. 2.

a furious shout. On the side of the Romans neither was the work interrupted (for it was the *triarii*¹ who were rearing the fortifications), and the battle was begun by the *hastati* and *principes*, who stood ready and armed in front of the workmen. Besides their valour, the higher ground also aided them, so that all their javelins and spears did not, as though hurled on level ground, fall ineffectual, as is generally the case, but were all fixed in [their mark] balanced by their own weight: and the Gauls, weighed down by the javelins, by which they had either their bodies transfixed² or their shields loaded as they stuck in, after advancing up³ the steep almost at a run, at first halted irresolutely; then, when the very delay both diminished their courage and increased that of the enemy, they were driven back and rolled down one over another, and produced a carnage amongst themselves more horrible even than the slaughter [committed by the enemy], so many more were crushed by the headlong rout than killed⁴ by the sword.

The victory of the Romans was not yet decided: 24.
another task was still left for them after descending to the plain. For the vast numbers of the Gauls, overshadowing all sense of such a loss,⁵ raised fresh troops, as if a new line of battle arose again, against the victorious enemy; and the Romans, checking their onset, halted, both because weary as they were they had a second time to undergo the battle, and because the consul, while he moves about incautiously amidst the front rank,⁶ had retired a little from the line, his left shoulder being almost pierced through with a Gallic

¹ *Triarii*: p. 67, n. 4. *Muniebant, munitioribus*: p. 54, n. 7.

² *Corpora transfixa* [habebant]: p. 248, n. 1. *Librata ponderibus*: xxx. 10, 'altitudine aliquantum onerariæ [naves] superabant: ex rostratis Poeni vana pleraque utpote supino iactu tela in superiorem locum mittebant; gravior ac pondere ipso libratio superne ex onerariis ictus erat.'

³ *Subissent*: p. 96, n. 2.

⁴ *Necare* always means to kill by violence.

⁵ *Exsuperans omnem sensum*: i.e. being so great that they never felt their losses.

⁶ *Inter primores*: p. 52, n. 6. *Agitat* [se].

javelin.¹ And now the victory had been yielded by their delaying, when the consul, his wound having been bound up,² riding back to the foremost standards, said: 'Why do you stand still, soldiers? You have not to do with a Latin or Sabine enemy, whom, when vanquished in arms, you can make an ally instead of an enemy: we have drawn the sword against brutes: we must drain their blood or give them ours. You have repulsed them from your camp, you have driven them headlong down the sloping side of the valley, you are standing on the prostrate bodies of your foes: fill the plains with the same slaughter as you have filled the hills. Do not wait till they flee from you as you stand still: you must bear forward the standards and advance against the enemy.' Roused a second time by these exhortations, they drive the foremost companies of Gauls from their position, and then break through into the centre of their army by [forming] wedges.³ The barbarians thereupon, having no regular command or officers, were broken up, and turn their violence against their own comrades; and, scattered through the plains and rushing past⁴ even their own camp in their flight, they make for the citadel of Alba,⁵ which met their eyes as the most conspicuous spot among hills of the same height. The consul, not pursuing them beyond the camp, because his wound hindered him and he was unwilling to lead his army where it would be commanded⁶ by hills occupied by the enemy, giving to the soldiers all the plunder of the camp, led back his army to

¹ 'Mataris sive materis telum Gallicum erat.' Auct. *Ad Herenn.* iv. 32, 'nec tam facile ex Italia materis Transalpina depulsa est.' *Caes. B. G.* I. xxvi. 3, 'nonnulli . . . mataras ac tragulas subiiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant.'—Stroth.

² *Vulnere alligato* = 'obligato.'

³ *Cuneis*: xxii. 47, 'qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui *cuneus* ut pulsus aequavit frontem,' &c.

⁴ *Praelati*: p. 67, n. 45.

⁵ *Arceem Albanam*: i.e. the hill on which the citadel of Alba Longa had once stood.

⁶ *Subiicere exercitum tumulis*: ii. 7, 'subiicere colli aedes;' vii. 34, 5, 'subiectus nobis ad omnes ictus;' *ib.* § 9, 'subiectum eum telis suis habuerant;' xxxi. 44, 'cum . . . subiicientes eos castra Phœcae urbi videret.'

Rome victorious and enriched with the Gallic spoils. The consul's wound caused a delay of the triumph, and the same cause made the Senate feel the want of a dictator, in order that there might be some one to hold the elections, as the consuls were sick. Lucius Furius Camillus was appointed dictator, Publius Cornelius Scipio being attached to him as master of the horse, and restored to the patricians their former possession of the consulate. He himself being, for that service, elected consul with great enthusiasm on the part of the patricians, appointed ¹ Appius Claudius Crassus his colleague.

Before the new consuls entered office, a triumph 25. was celebrated over the Gauls by Popillius with the great applause of the commons, and they discontentedly asked one another whether anyone was dissatisfied with their plebeian consul: and at the same time they used to reproach the dictator, who had obtained, as pay for disregarding the Licinian law (more dishonourable for his private cupidity than for the public wrong), the power of himself, as dictator, electing himself consul.² The year was distinguished by many and various commotions. The Gauls, [descending] from the Alban hills because they were unable to endure the severity of the winter, roamed through the plains and maritime districts in search of plunder; the sea was infested with fleets of the Greeks, and the shore of the Antian coast

¹ *Collegam dixit*: a consul could not really nominate his colleague himself: xxxvii. 47, 'Fulvius consul unus creatur, cum ceteri centurias non explessent, isque postero die Cn. Manlius... collegam dixit'; xxii. 35, 'C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae.' *Dicere* is used, not in its technical sense (as in the phrase 'dictatorem dicere'), but as implying that the presiding magistrate, by exerting his power of rejecting candidates on account of omens which he might (or might not) have seen, had favoured the election of the one he preferred. See Cic. *Phil.* ii. 32 and 33. Horace means about the same when he says (*Epyp.* I. xx. 28), 'collegam Lepidum quo *duxit* Lollius anno.'

² *Se ipse*: it was not illegal, though considered very dishonourable, for the presiding magistrate to stand as a candidate himself. App. Claudius had done it first (iii. 35, mid.). I have omitted the *consulatum* which Madvig brackets, as an evident gloss, to explain *mercedem* (wrongly).

and the Laurentian tract and the mouth of the Tiber, so that the maritime encountering the land plunderers fought on one occasion with doubtful battle, and withdrew, the Gauls to their camp, the Greeks back to their ships, in doubt whether they should consider themselves vanquished or victors. Amidst [the alarm caused by] these,¹ by far the greatest consternation arose [from the fact] that assemblies of the Latin states were held at the grove of Ferentina,² and a significant answer was given to the Romans when they demanded soldiers, 'that they should cease to give orders to those whose aid they needed: the Latins would take arms for their own liberty rather than for the domination of others.' The Senate, feeling anxious at the revolt of their allies also in the midst of two foreign wars at the same time, and perceiving that those whom fidelity had not restrained must be restrained by fear, ordered the consuls to strain all the strength of their authority in holding the levy: for they had to depend on³ an army of their own citizens, since that of their allies was deserting them. From all quarters, not only from the young men of the city but even of the country districts, ten legions are said to have been enrolled, of 4,200 infantry and 300 cavalry each; a new army such as, if any foreign force were to menace us, the present strength of the Roman people, which the habitable globe can hardly hold, if concentrated on any one point⁴ could not easily raise now: so⁵ have we increased those things alone for which we toil, namely, riches and luxury.⁶ Among the other unfortunate occurrences of

¹ *Inter hos* [motus]: § 3, 'annus motibus fuit insignis.'—Drakenb. Or, supply *terrores*, from *terror*, in the same clause.

² *Ferentina* was worshipped near Ferentinum, in the Hernican territory: her temple seems to have been a rendezvous of the neighbouring states, as that of Voltumna was of the Etruscans.

³ *Civili standum exercitu*: p. 224, n. 7. Omit [coetus].

⁴ *Contractae in unum*: or perhaps, 'all put together: 'only to be understood of Romans actually living in the city.

⁵ *Adeo*: so true is it that . . : vi. 17, 5, 'adeo in uno omnibus satis auxilii fuisse?'

⁶ *Divitias luxuriamque*: Praef. 'nuper divitiae avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem perreundi perdendique omnia invexere.'

this year, Appius Claudius, one of the consuls, died in the very midst of the preparations for war; and affairs had devolved upon Camillus, over whom, the sole consul, it did not seem proper to the Senate that a dictator should be appointed, either on account of his high character in other respects, which did not deserve to be made subordinate to the dictatorship, or on account of the omen of his surname,¹ so auspicious for a Gallic war. The consul, stationing two legions in front of the city, and dividing the other eight with Lucius Pinarius the praetor, mindful of his father's valour assumes the Gallic war himself without [appealing] to lots; and ordered the praetor to protect the sea-coast and prevent the Greeks from landing.² And after descending into the Pomptine territory, he selected a position suitable for a standing camp, because he neither desired to engage on the plain, when nothing forced him to do so, and believed that the enemy would be sufficiently subdued by his preventing them from plundering, as necessity compelled them to live on what they could seize.³

As they were passing the time quietly there in their quarters, a Gaul, remarkable for his size and arms, came forward, and clashing his shield with his spear, after making silence, he challenged by means of an interpreter any one of the Romans to contend with him with the sword.⁴ There was a tribune of the soldiers named Marcus Valerius, a young man, who, considering himself not less worthy of that renown than Titus Manlius, first enquired the consul's pleasure and then advanced armed into the space between the two armies. The human combat was rendered less remarkable by the interposition of the divine power: for just as the Roman was closing with his antagonist, a crow suddenly settled on his helmet, facing the enemy. First the tribune joyfully received this sign as an augury sent

26.

¹ *I.e.* Camillus: he was the son of the great dictator. *Arrogare* = 'addere, apponere, adsciscere.'—Drakenb.

² *Arcere litioribus*: p. 32, n. 4.

³ *Rapto vivere*: a Vergilian phrase (p. 97, n. 1): *Aen.* ix, 613, &c.

⁴ *Ferro [rem] decernat*: 'decide the quarrel:' p. 229, n. 3.

from heaven : then he prayed that whether it were god or goddess who had sent to him the auspicious bird,¹ he would graciously come propitious to his aid. Wonderful to relate, the bird not only kept the perch it had once taken, but, as often as the combat was begun, it raised itself on its wings and attacked with beak and talons the face and eyes of the foe, until Valerius slew him, terrified as he was at the sight of such a prodigy and confused at the same time in eyes and mind: the crow, soaring out of sight, makes for the east. Hitherto the outposts on both sides had remained still: when the tribune began to despoil the body of his slaughtered enemy, the Gauls no longer restrained themselves in their post, and still more rapid was the rush of the Romans to the victor. There a conflict began around the body of the fallen Gaul, and a furious battle was stirred up. At last the struggle was carried on, not by the companies of the nearest outposts, but by the legions pouring out on both sides. Camillus bids the men, joyful at the victory of the tribune, joyful at [seeing] the gods so present to aid² and so propitious, advance to battle: and pointing to the tribune conspicuous with his spoils, 'Imitate him, soldiers,' he said, 'and lay low the bands³ of the Gauls around their fallen leader.' Gods and men aided⁴ that fight, and the battle with the Gauls was fought with a struggle by no means doubtful: so much had both armies understood the result⁵ of [the duel between] the two soldiers between whom it had been fought. With the first comers, whose encounter had called out the others, there was a furious conflict: the rest of their number turned their backs before they came within throw of a javelin. At first they were dispersed through the

¹ *Præpotem*: a bird from whose flight success was augured: p. 201, n. 2.

² *Tam præsentibus*: 'a very present help in trouble.'

³ *Catorvas*: generally, as here, used of barbarian troops as opp. to Roman ('legiones').

⁴ *Affuere*: p. 33, n. 3. *Depugnatum*: p. 134, n. 1.

⁵ *Ducrum militum eventum*: cf. oh. 9 (end), 'ut noster duorum' (p. 169, n. 3) 'eventus ostendat, utra gens bello sit melior.'

Volscians and the Falernian territory: thence they made their way to Apulia and the upper sea.¹ The consul, summoning an assembly, highly praised the tribune and presented him with ten oxen² and a golden crown: he himself, being ordered by the Senate to take charge of the maritime war, united his camp with the praetor. Because matters in that quarter seemed to be delayed by the cowardice of the Greeks, who never committed themselves to a pitched battle, by command of the Senate he named Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator for the sake of [holding] the elections. The dictator, appointing Aulus Cornelius Cossus master of the horse, held the elections for consuls; and with the greatest applause of the people he returned Marcus Valerius Corvus (for that was his surname from this time forward), the rival of his own glory, as consul in his absence, though then only twenty-three years old,³ Marcus Popillius Laenas the plebeian, who would then be consul for the fourth time, was given to Corvus as his colleague. No memorable exploit was performed by Camillus [in his war] with the Greeks: they were not warriors by land nor the Romans by sea.⁴ At last, as they were prevented from coming to shore, and water also, besides other things necessary for use, began to fail them, they abandoned Italy. To what state or what nation this fleet belonged, there is nothing certain [told us]. I am most inclined to believe⁵ that they [belonged to] the tyrants of Sicily:⁶ for further Greece at that period, worn out by intestine war,⁷ was already beginning to dread the power of the Macedonians.

When the armies were disbanded and there was

27.

¹ *Mare superum*: the Adriatic: v. 33 (mid.).

² *Bubus*: sometimes written 'bobus,' abl. pl. of 'bos.'

³ *Tres et viginti annos natum*: the legal age for the consulate was 43.

⁴ *Romanus*: there was no Roman fleet at this time, or, indeed, till the war with Carthage.

⁵ *Crediderim*: notice the force of the perf. subj.

⁶ *Siciliae*: Dionysius II. was tyrant about this time of Syracuse, the most powerful state in Sicily.

⁷ *Intestino bello*: the Sacred War was just at an end, and the power of Philip had been immensely increased thereby.

peace abroad and tranquillity, in consequence of the harmony of the orders, at home, to prevent their state from being too happy a pestilence that attacked the state compelled the Senate to order the ten commissioners¹ to inspect the Sibylline books, and by their advice there was a lectisternium. In the same year a colony was conducted to Satricum by the Antians, and the city, which the Latins had destroyed,² was rebuilt; and at Rome a treaty was concluded with ambassadors of Carthage, who had come asking for friendship and alliance. The same tranquillity continued at home and abroad during the consulship of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Gaius Plautius. Only interest was made one twenty-fourth part³ instead of one twelfth, and the payment of debt was adjusted in equal instalments of three years' interval, on condition that the fourth was immediate; and though even thus part of the commons were distressed, still public credit had, in the eyes of the Senate, more important claims to their attention than the difficulties of private individuals. Their circumstances were chiefly relieved, because there was remission from taxation and levy. In the third year after Satricum was rebuilt by the Volscians, Marcus Valerius Corvus, appointed consul a second time together with Gaius Poetelius, as word was brought from Latium that ambassadors from Antium were going round to the states of the Latins to stir up war, was ordered to turn his arms against the Volscians before the numbers of the enemy became greater, and marched with a hostile army to Satricum. When the Antians and other Volscians, having already prepared their forces beforehand in case any movement should be made from Rome, met him there, no delay took place between the armies, embittered by long hatred, in coming to an engagement. The Volscians, a nation more fierce to begin war afresh than to carry it on, were

¹ *Decemviris*: who had superseded the duumviri in the charge of the Sibylline books: vi. 37, 12.

² *Diruerant*: vi. 33, 4.

³ *Semunciarium fenus* (= 'semiunc.'): p. 241, n. 1.

defeated in the conflict, and made for the walls of Satricum in disorderly flight; and their confidence even in the walls not being sufficiently assured, as the city was on the point of being taken by escalade, being encompassed by a ring of troops, they surrendered themselves, to the number of four thousand soldiers, besides the unwarlike multitude. The town was demolished and burnt: they kept the fire from the temple of Mother Matuta alone. All the plunder was given to the troops. The four thousand men who had surrendered were reckoned exclusive of the spoil: these the consul in his triumph led before his chariot in chains; afterwards, by selling them, he brought a large sum of money into the treasury.¹ There are some who write that this large number of captives consisted of slaves; and this is more probable than that men who had surrendered were sold.

Marcus Fabius Dorsuo and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus succeeded these as consuls. After this a war with the Auruncans was begun by a sudden incursion, and through fear lest this, though the act of only one state, might be a conspiracy of all the Latin name, Lucius Furius was made dictator, as though against all Latium already in arms, and nominated Gnaeus Manlius Capitolinus master of the horse; and when, a suspension of business being proclaimed (a measure which was wont to be taken during great disturbances²), a levy was held without any exemptions from service, the legions were led against the Auruncans with the greatest possible rapidity. There the spirit of brigands rather than of enemies was found: accordingly the war was finished³ at the first regular battle. The dictator, however, because they had begun the war without provocation and offered themselves to the contest without reluctance, thinking that the aid of the gods also ought to be employed, vowed a temple to Juno Moneta in the very midst of the engagement; and when he had returned

28.

¹ *In aerarium redegit*: p. 49, n. 2.

² *Per magnos tumultus*: p. 229, n. 2.

³ *Debellatum*: p. 134, n. 1.

victorious to Rome, bound by this vow,¹ he resigned the dictatorship. The Senate ordered two commissioners to be elected to build this temple suitably to the greatness of the Roman people. A site was set apart for it in the citadel, which² had been the ground whereon the house of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus had stood. The consuls, employing the dictator's army for the Volscian war, took Sora from the enemy, attacking them unexpectedly. The temple of Moneta was consecrated the year after it had been vowed, in the consulship of Gaius Marcius Rutilus for a third, and Titus Manlius Torquatus for a second time. A prodigy immediately followed the dedication of the temple, resembling the ancient one of the Alban mount;³ for it rained stones, and also night seemed to overspread the sky in the day-time; and on the books being inspected, as the state was full of religious feeling, it was resolved by the Senate that a dictator should be appointed for the sake of regulating the festival. Publius Valerius Publicola was appointed. Quintus Fabius Ambustus was given him as master of the horse. It was resolved that not only the tribes should go to offer supplication, but the neighbouring states also; and a certain order was fixed for them, on what day each should offer supplication. Severe sentences of the people are said to have been passed that year against usurers, for whom a day of trial had been appointed by the aediles; and matters came to an interregnum without any particular cause [being handed down] to memory. The consuls elected, after the interregnum, Marcus Valerius Corvus a third time, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus, were both patricians, so that this would seem to be the object in view.

29. From this time forward, wars will be related of greater importance, both through the strength of the enemy and the space, whether of the countries or the time during which they were carried on. For in this

¹ *Damnatus voti*: p. 65, n. 1.

² *Locus quae area fuerat*: p. 31, n. 5. *Manlii*: vi. 20, 13.

³ *Montis Albani*: i. 31 (*init.*).

year arms were taken up against the Samnites,¹ a nation powerful in wealth and arms. Pyrrhus² followed as an enemy the war with the Samnites, which was waged with doubtful fortune; the Carthaginians followed Pyrrhus. How great a mass of events! How often did Rome run into extreme peril,³ in order that her empire might be raised to its present⁴ magnitude, which can scarcely be sustained! Now, the cause of war between the Romans and the Samnites, as they had been united in alliance and friendship,⁵ came from without, it did not originate amongst themselves. The Samnites having taken up arms unjustly, simply because they were the more powerful, against the Sidicinians, they, in their need, were compelled to turn for protection to the aid of those who were better off than themselves, and united themselves to the Campanians.⁶ As the Campanians brought to the defence of their allies a name⁷ rather than strength, enfeebled by luxury⁸ as they were, they were routed in the Sidicinian territory by [their opponents], men inured to the use of arms, and then drew upon themselves the whole burden of the war; for the Samnites, not troubling themselves any

¹ *Samnites*: Samnium lay eastward between Latium and the Adriatic, north of Campania: it was a mountainous and extensive country.

² *Pyrrhus*: King of Epirus: the struggle with him is described in the twelfth and following books, which are lost, as are likewise those containing the history of the First Punic War.

³ *Extrema periculorum*: p. 16, n. 2.

⁴ *Hanc*: it must be remembered that Livy wrote in the reign of Augustus.

⁵ *Societate amicitiaque iuncti*: ch. 19, 4.

⁶ *Campanis*: the Campanians were Etruscans and Samnites by descent, who, inhabiting the most pleasant and fertile land in Italy, became wealthy and prosperous, but at the same time luxurious and unwarlike: ch. 38, 5. See p. 283, n. 2.

⁷ *Nomen*: iii. 65, 'nomina [tribunorum] tantum se biennio habuisse;' v. 18, 'me iam non eundem, sed umbram nomenque P. Licinii relictum videtis.' Quint. Curt. V. 12. 'Indi ceterique rubri maris accolae, nomina verius quam auxilia, post currus erant.'

⁸ *Fluentes luxu*: 32, 7, 'nimio luxu fluentibus rebus mollitiaque sua;' 33, 14, 'fluere iam lassitudine vires sentirent.' Cic. *De Am.* xv. 52, 'homines deliciis diffuentes.' 'Dicuntur autem,' says Raschig, 'fluere, quae mollia sunt atque soluta, quibus commode apponuntur durata.'

longer about the Sidicinians, attacked the Campanians, the very citadel¹ of the neighbouring states, from whom an equally easy victory and a larger amount of plunder and glory could be [obtained]; and after occupying Tifata, a range of hills overhanging Capua, with a strong garrison, they march down from thence with their army drawn up in a square into the plain which lies between Capua and Tifata. There they fought a pitched battle a second time, and the Campanians, being driven within their walls after a disastrous battle, were compelled, as the flower of their own youth was cut down and no hope was at hand, to beg for aid from the Romans.

30. Their ambassadors, being introduced into the Senate, spoke chiefly to the following effect: 'The people of Capua have sent us as ambassadors to you, Conscript Fathers, to beg from you friendship for ever and immediate aid. If we had sought this [friendship] in our prosperity, as it would have commenced more readily, so, too, would it have been bound by a weaker bond; for then, as men who remembered that we had come into friendship with you on² equal terms, we should perhaps have been equally your friends as now, but less submissive and compliant to you; now, gratified by your compassion and defended by your aid in our perilous situation, it is our duty also to set store by³ the kindness we have received, that we seem not ungrateful and unworthy of all aid, divine or human. Nor assuredly do I think that the fact that the Samnites first became friends and allies with you is so far of weight as to prevent us being received into friendship, but only to give them precedence over us in priority and degree of honour; for no stipulation was made in your treaty with the Samnites that you were

¹ *Arcem finitimorum*: 34, 4, 'arx illa est spei salutisque nostrae.' Cic. *Phil.* VIII. viii. 24, 'ornamentum atque arcem amicorum suorum, hominem aedilicium.'—Drakenb.

² *Ex aequo* = ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου: ix. 20, 8, 'neque ut aequo tamen foedere, sed ut in dicione pop. Romani essent.' *Subiecti atque obnoxii*: p. 178, n. 4.

³ *Colamus oportet*: p. 154, n. 2. *Nunc*: p. 224, n. 5.

not to conclude any new treaties. It has, indeed, ever been in your eyes a sufficiently just cause of friendship, that he who sought after you¹ desired to be a friend of yours; [besides this claim,] we Campanians, who, though our present fortune prevents us from speaking boastfully, do not yield to any state except you in the greatness of our city or the fertility of our land, come into your friendship, [forming,] in my opinion, no small accession to your prosperity. We shall be in the rear² of the Aequans and Volscians, the eternal enemies of this city, whenever they make any move; and what you shall have been the first to do³ for our safety that will we always do for your empire and glory. When you have subdued those nations which lie between us and you—a thing that both your valour and your fortune warrant will soon take place—you will have an empire reaching unbroken⁴ right up to us. It is a painful and miserable thing that our fortune compels us to confess. It has come to this, Conscript Fathers, that we Campanians are to be the property either of friends⁵ or of foes. If you defend us, we shall be yours; if you desert us, we shall fall into the hands of the Samnites. Consider, therefore, whether you would prefer that Capua and all Campania should be added to your own power or⁶ to that of the Samnites. It is just, indeed, Romans, that your compassion and your aid should lie open to all, but especially to those who, while affording that [aid and compassion]⁷ beyond their strength to others that implored it, have themselves above all men come

¹ *Appeteret*: Cic. *De Sen.* xviii. 63, 'haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, . . . salutari, appeti,' &c.

² *Ab tergo*: the Volscian territory lay directly between that of the Latin League (Introduction, § 1) and Campania.

³ *Quod feceritis*: i.e. fought.

⁴ *Continens*: p. 90, n. 3 ('timori ipsum malum continens fuit.') *Imperium*: the acquisition of Campania was really the commencement of that long career of conquest that made Rome the mistress of the world.

⁵ *Ut aut amicorum . . . : sinus*: p. 151, n. 2.

⁶ *Vestris an . . .*: p. 71, n. 7.

⁷ *Elam*: i.e. misericordiam; 'quam nempe Campani implorantibus Sidicinis praestiterant.'—Stroth.

to this hard necessity. Although we fought nominally¹ for the Sidicinians, in reality it was for ourselves, as we saw a neighbouring state assailed² by the nefarious brigandage of the Samnites, and [perceived] that when the Sidicinians were in a blaze,³ that conflagration would pass over to us. For even now the Samnites do not come to attack us because they are vexed at any wrong received, but because they are glad that a pretext has been offered them. If this were the gratification of their resentment, and not an occasion for glutting their cupidity, was it not enough for them that they cut down our legions once in the Sidicine territory, again in Campania itself? What kind of resentment is there so deadly that the blood poured out in two pitched battles cannot satiate it? Add to this the devastation of our fields, the spoil of men and cattle that has been driven off, the burning and ruin of our country-houses, and everything laid waste with fire and sword. Could not their rage be satisfied with these? But it is their cupidity that must be satisfied. That hurries them on to attack Capua; they wish either to destroy that most beautiful city or to possess it themselves. But do you occupy it, Romans, in your kindness rather than allow them to hold it by wrong-doing. I speak not before a people that declines just wars; but still, if you make but a show of your aid, I think that even [such] war will not be necessary for you. The contempt of the Samnites has reached as far as to us; further it does not mount. Accordingly, we can be protected, Romans, even by the shadow of your aid;⁴ and whatever we shall possess hereafter, whatever we ourselves shall be, all this will we regard as yours. For you the Campanian land shall be ploughed; for you

¹ *Verbo . . . re*: the well-known Thucydidean antithesis of *λόγῳ* and *ἔργῳ*.

² *Peti*: Hor. *Sat.* II. i. 55, 'neque calce lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos.'

³ *Ubi conflagrassent Sidicini*: 'Tua res agitur, paries cum proximo ardet.'—Hor.

⁴ *Umbra vestri auxilii tegi possumus*: iv. 42, 'sub tribunicia umbra consularem virum delituisse;' xxxiv. 9, 'sub umbra Romanæ amicitiae latebant.'

shall the city of Capua be inhabited; you will be to us in the place of founders, of parents, of immortal gods; there shall be no colony of yours which shall surpass us in obedience and fidelity towards you. Grant to the Campanians your nod, Conscript Fathers, and your invincible favour,¹ and bid us hope that Capua shall be safe. With what a dense crowd of all classes attending us² do you suppose that we set out from thence? how did we leave every place full of vows and tears? In what suspense are now the Senate and people of Capua, our wives and our children! I know well that the whole multitude are standing at the gates which look out on the road that leads from hence. What news do you bid us, Conscript Fathers, bear back to them in their anxiety and suspense³ of mind? One answer may bring them safety, victory, light and liberty; the other—I shudder to forebode what it may bring.⁴ Deliberate, therefore, about us as about men who are either to be your own allies and friends, or are no longer to exist⁵ on earth.'

The ambassadors then being removed, after the Senate had been consulted, though to a great many the

31.

¹ *Numen*: referring to 'deorum immortalium numero nobis eritis.' *Inviotum*: p. 155, n. 5.

² *Prosequente*: p. 71, n. 4.

³ *Pendentibus animi*: cf. 'fidens animi,' Verg. *Aen.* ii. 61; 'miseratus animi,' *ib.* vi. 332, x. 686, *G.* iv. 491; 'praestans animi,' xi. 417. In such phrases (which chiefly refer to *feeling*) the gen. retains the force of the old locative case which is blended with it in Latin: traces of it are found in such words as 'ruri,' 'vesperi,' 'heri,' 'humi'; the gen. of place, 'Corinthis,' 'Romae' (orig. 'Romai'), &c., and in Greek in the dat. *ποδὶ* &c., *χαμαί*, *μαρμαῶνι*, &c. The Latin and Greek dat. and abl. pl. ('musis,' *μούσαισι*,) are also locative forms. Cf. p. 145, n. 3, 'nimius animi': *ib.* 36, 'capti et stupentes animi': i. 7, 'confusus et incertus animi': xxx. 15, 'aeger animi': and xxiii. 25, 'dubius sententiae.'

⁴ *Alterum, ominari horreo, quae ferat*: cf. Demosth. *De Cor.* p. 293 (§ 248 Dindorf), *νῦν μὲν* (vii. 6, n. 5) *σπῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεύσαι, πολλὰ μὲν ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει· τότε δ'—ὡς ἐξίον εἰπεῖν ἃ γε μὴδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοία.* *Ib.* p. 225 (§ 3), *ἐμοὶ μὲν—ὁ βούλομαι δὲ δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδέν.* It is the figure of speech called *apostrophe*, or sudden breaking off of the sentence: in this case, to avoid saying anything of ill omen. *Ominari*: p. 159, n. 2.

⁵ *Ullis futuris*: p. 159, n. 1.

city, the largest and wealthiest in Italy, their land the most fertile and close to the sea, seemed likely to be a granary of the Roman people for all variations in the price of corn; ¹ still, good faith was held preferable ² to such great advantages, and the consul, by the direction of the Senate, answered thus: 'Campanians, the Senate judges you worthy of aid; but it is just that friendship be established with you only in such a way that no prior friendship and alliance be violated. The Samnites are united to us by treaty. Accordingly we refuse you arms against the Samnites, as they would be an outrage on the gods before [they injured] men. We will send ambassadors, as is right and just, to our allies and friends, to beg that no violence be done you.' In reply to this, the chief of the embassy (for such were the instructions they had brought from home) said: 'Since ye will not by just force defend our possessions against violence and wrong, at least ye will defend your own. Wherefore we surrender into your power, Conscript Fathers, and that of the Roman people, the people of Campania and the city of Capua, our lands, the temples of our gods, and all things divine and human; whatever we shall henceforth suffer we shall suffer as men who have placed themselves in your hands.' At these words, all, stretching their hands towards the consuls, fell to the ground, bathed in tears, in the porch of the Senate-house. The Fathers were affected at the vicissitude of human fortunes, since ³ that state, so powerful ⁴ in resources, so distinguished by luxury and pride, from which its neighbours had begged assistance a little before, bore spirits that were now so broken as of its own accord ⁵ to put itself and all its possessions into the power of others.⁶

¹ *Ad varietates annonae horreum p. R. fore: cf. Cic. Phil. VIII. viii. 26, 'Campanus ager et Leontinus, quae duo maiores nostri annonae perfugia ducebant.'* Cicero often speaks of the 'ager Campanus' as the most fertile in Italy: *Phil. II. xxxix. 101, 'haec quondam arationes'* (ch. 80, § 19, above), 'Campana et Leontina in pop. Romani patrimonio grandiferae et fructuosae ferebantur.'

² *Antiquior*: p. 197, n. 5.

³ *St*: p. 236, n. 4.

⁴ *Praepotens*: p. 81, n. 6.

⁵ *Potestatis alienae faceret*: p. 151, n. 2.

⁶ *Ipse* = 'sponte.'

Again,¹ their honour seemed to be involved in not betraying those who had surrendered, nor did they consider that the Samnite people would do what was fair if they attacked a territory and city that had become the property of the Roman people by surrender. Accordingly it was resolved that ambassadors should be sent to the Samnites immediately. Instructions were given them to lay before the Samnites the entreaties of the Campanians, the answer of the Senate showing that they remembered the friendship of the Samnites, and finally the surrender that had taken place. They were to request them, in consideration of the alliance and friendship, to spare those who had put themselves into their² hands, and not carry hostilities into that territory which had become the property of the Roman people. If they did not succeed by gentle measures, they were to warn the Samnites, in the name of the Roman people and the Senate, not to interfere with the city of Capua and the Campanian territory. When the ambassadors made these representations in the assembly of the Samnites, so fierce an answer was given that they not only said that they would carry on that war, but their magistrates, going out from the Senate-house, summoned the commanders of the cohorts, as the ambassadors stood by, and ordered them in a loud voice to set out immediately into the Campanian territory to plunder.

On [the reception of] this embassy being reported³ at Rome, the Senate, laying aside the care of all other matters, sent heralds to demand satisfaction,⁴ and declaring war in the usual manner⁵ because it was not given, they decreed that measures should be proposed to the people at the very first opportunity on the subject; and by order of the people both consuls set out with the two armies from the city, Valerius into Cam-

32.

¹ *Tum iam*: or, 'then at last.'

² *I.e.* the Romans.'

³ *Legatione relata*: xxiii. 6, 'ita renunciant legationem, uti delatum omnibus videretur nomen Romanum;' ix. 4, 6, 'haec quum legatio renunciaretur.'—Stroth.

⁴ *Fetialibus ad res repetendas missis*: p. 225, n. 2.

⁵ *Sollemni more*: i. 32 (mid.).

pania and Cornelius into Samnium, and pitch their camp, the former on Mount Gaurus, the latter at Saticula.¹ The legions of the Samnites encountered Valerius first, for they judged that the whole brunt of the war would incline to that direction; at the same time resentment stimulated them against the Campanians, so ready at one time to give, at another to invite, aid against them. But when they saw the Roman camp, each for himself fiercely demanded the signal from his leaders, and asserted that the Romans would give assistance to the Campanians with the same fortune as the Campanians had done to the Sidicinians. Valerius, after delaying for not many days for the sake of making trial of the enemy in slight skirmishes, displayed the signal for battle, exhorting his men in a few words, 'not to let the new war or the new enemy terrify them; the farther² they carried their arms from the city, they would advance against more and more unwarlike races.³ They should not estimate the valour of the Samnites by the disasters of the Sidicinians and Campanians: whatever the combatants on the two sides may have been, it was inevitable that one side or the other must be conquered. The Campanians, indeed, had undoubtedly been vanquished more by the effeminacy of excessive luxury and their own softness than by the vigour of the enemy. But what were the Samnites' two successful wars in so many centuries against the many glories of the Roman people, who counted almost more triumphs than years from the foundation of the city, who held all around them subdued by their arms—Sabines,⁴ Etruscans, Latins, Hernicans, Aequans, Vol-

¹ *Saticula*, a frontier town of Samnium, about ten miles from Capua. *Hic*: Cornelius.

² *Quicquid longius* = 'quanto longius'; viii. 39, 5, 'quicquid progrediebantur, magis magisque turbatos hostes cernebant'; xxi. 54, 'quicquid auræ fluminis appropinquabant, afflabat acrior frigoris vis.'

³ *Imbelles*: this was not true of the Samnites at any rate, for those hardy mountaineers made a most gallant stand against the encroachments of Rome. Livy's account of the Samnite War is not much more trustworthy than that of the Gallic. See Mommsen, vol. i. 390, note.

⁴ *Sabines*: Romulus had fought with the Sabines, but had hardly 'subdued' them: they had been amalgamated with the Romans.

scians, and Auruncans; and who had finally driven the Gauls, slaughtered in so many battles, into the sea and their ships¹ in flight? They ought to enter the field relying every one on his military glory and his valour, and at the same time to consider under whose leadership and auspices the battle was to be entered: whether under one who was merely to be listened to, a grand exhorter, bold only in words and ignorant² of military operations, or one who himself knew how to wield arms, to advance before the standards, and to show himself in the mid strife of the battle.' 'My deeds, not my words, I wish you to follow, soldiers,' he said, 'and to seek from me not only discipline but also an example. Not by intrigues nor by the cabals³ usual among the nobles, but by this right hand,⁴ have I won for myself three consulships and the highest renown. There was a time when this could be said: "[You won them] because⁵ you were a patrician and descended from the liberators⁶ of your country, and that family first had the consulship in the same year as this city first had a consul." Now the consulship lies open in common to us patricians and to you, the commons, and it is not, as formerly, the prize of birth, but of valour. Look forward therefore, soldiers, to all the highest honours. If you men have given me, with the approval of the gods, this new surname of Corvinus, the ancient surname of our family, the Publicolae,⁷ has not slipped from my memory. I ever

¹ *Naves*: an absurdity.

² *Esperis*: p. 219, n. 5.

³ *Coitiones*: ('coetus clandestinos,' Gronov.) always in a bad sense: iii. 35 and 65, ix. 26, 22.

⁴ *Hac destra*: with which he had slain the Gallic champion (ch. 26).

⁵ *Enim*: 'nihil mirum, te consulem esse factum, patricius enim eras.'—Stroth. Cf. p. 20, n. 6.

⁶ *Liberatoribus*: i.e. from Publius Valerius Publicola, consul in the first year of the republic: 'quo adiutore reges eiecerat [Brutus]': ii. 2, end.

⁷ *Publicolarum*: Valerius (see last note) was surnamed Publicola or Poplicola (Populicola, friend of the people,) for passing laws 'de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum, sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius qui regni occupandi consilia inisset:' ii. 8 (*init.*).

do and have loyally served the Roman commons in the field and at home, as a private man and in magistracies both small and great, alike as tribune and as consul, with the same unvarying course through all my successive consulships. Now, with regard to the business in hand, seek with me, by the gracious aid of the gods, a new and thorough triumph over the Samnites.'

33. Never yet was there a general more familiar with his troops, by his performing all exercises among the lowest of the soldiers without reluctance. Moreover, in the military sports, when men of equal age vie with one another in trials of swiftness and strength, he was courteously affable; he conquered and was conquered with the same countenance, and spurned no competitor¹ who offered himself; in his acts kind according to the occasion,² in his words mindful not less of the liberty of others than of his own dignity; and (a thing than which there is nothing more popular) he used to administer office with the same behaviour³ as he had sought it. The whole army, therefore, greeting the exhortation of their general with incredible enthusiasm, marched forth from the camp. The battle was commenced with the same hopes on both sides, as much as any battle ever was,¹ with equal strength and with confidence in themselves without contempt for their enemy. Their recent exploits and the double victory they had gained a few days before increased the fierceness of the Samnites; on the other hand, the glories of four hundred years and victory coeval with the foundation of the city [had the same effect] on the Romans; to both, however, the fact that the enemy was a new one gave additional anxiety. The battle was an indication what spirit they possessed, for they fought in such a manner that for a long time the armies inclined neither backwards nor forwards. Then the consul, thinking it necessary to cause some confusion among them, since they could not be driven

¹ *Parem*: 'adversarium': xxviii. 44, 'Habebo parem, quem das, Hannibalem.'

² *Pro re* = 'pro re nata.'—Drakenb.

³ *Artibus*: v. 44, 'hac arte in patria steti.'

⁴ *Ut quod maxime unquam*: p. 66, n. 1.

back by force, attempted to disorder their foremost battalions by a charge of cavalry. And when he saw them wheeling their squadrons in the narrow space in fruitless disorder and unable to open a path among the enemy, riding back to the front ranks of the legions and leaping down from his horse, he said: 'This task belongs to us infantry, soldiers. Come now, as you see me clearing my way with the sword wherever I advance into the enemy's line, so do you, each for himself, lay low those in front of him. All, where¹ their uplifted spears now glitter, you will see cleft open with wide-extended slaughter.' Just as² he uttered these words, the cavalry, by order of the consul, parted and³ withdrew to the wings, and thus opened a passage for the legions against the centre of the [enemy's] line. The consul is the first of all to attack the enemy, and kills the man with whom he happened to engage.⁴ Encouraged at this sight, on the right hand and on the left everyone begins a gallant fight straight to the front; the Samnites stand their ground firmly,⁵ though they receive more wounds than they inflict. The battle had now lasted a considerable time; the slaughter around the standards of the Samnites was dreadful, but in no part as yet was there flight, so strong was the determination of their hearts to be conquered by death alone. The Romans, therefore, when they saw that their strength was at last beginning to relax from weariness⁶ and that not much of the day remained, inflamed with rage, throw themselves upon the enemy. Then for the first time it was plain that they were retreating and that matters were inclining to a flight: then the Samnites were captured or slain, and not many would have survived had not night broken off

¹ *Qua* [parte].

² *Dederat*: p. 53, n. 4. 'Dicta dare' is a poetical phrase, common in Vergil, in which 'dare' has almost the force of an auxiliary verb (p. 19, n. 7): cf. 'placataque venti dant maria,' *Aen.* iii. 70. *Vasta dabo* (p. 114, n. 5), *Aen.* ix. 323: 'defensum dabit,' xii. 437.

³ *Discurrunt*: p. 57, n. 5.

⁴ *Cum quo forte contulit gradum*: p. 148, n. 5 ('collato pede').

⁵ *Obstare*: p. 148, n. 2.

⁶ *Fluere iam lassitudine*: p. 263, n. 8.

what was a victory rather than a battle. The Romans used to confess that they had never fought with a more determined enemy; and the Samnites, too, when it was asked what was the first cause that had impelled such resolute men to fly, used to say that it was the eyes of the Romans, which seemed to them to blaze, and their frenzied look and furious countenance: more terror arose from thence than from anything else. And this terror they confessed not only by the issue of the battle, but by their departure in the night. Next day the Romans take possession of the empty camp of the enemy, whither all the multitude of the Campanians poured out to congratulate them.

34. But this joy was almost spoilt by a great disaster in Samnium. For the consul Cornelius, setting out from Saticula, incautiously led his army into a mountain valley, passable only by a deep defile and beset on all sides by the enemy, and did not perceive the enemy in their threatening position over his head until his battalions could not safely be withdrawn. While the Samnites delayed only ¹ until he should bring down his whole army into the lowest part of the valley, Publius Decius, a tribune of the soldiers, catches sight of a single lofty hill in the defile, overhanging the enemy's camp, of arduous access ² to an army laden with baggage, but not difficult for lightly-equipped troops. Accordingly he says to the consul, who was alarmed in mind,³ 'Aulus Cornelius, do you see that cliff above the enemy? That is the citadel of our hopes and safety, if we seize it without delay, since those blind Samnites have left it for us. Do not give me more than the second rank and the spearmen⁴ of one legion: when I

¹ *Id moras*: p. 18, n. 4.

² *Aritu arduum*: p. 103, n. 3.

³ *Territo animi*: p. 267, n. 3.

⁴ *Principes hastatosque*: at this time, and down to the Second Punic War, the Roman legion was drawn up on the field of battle in three lines: the men of the first line, the *Hastati*, were young men; those in the second, the *Principes*, middle-aged; those in the third, the *Triarii* (p. 67, n. 4), tried veterans. In these three lines there were fifteen companies (*manipuli*) each: each maniple contained about 60 men, 2 centurions, and a *vevillarius* or standard-bearer, sometimes (v. 55) called *signifer*. The

have made my way to the summit with them, do you proceed hence free from all fear, and save yourself and the army; for the enemy, commanded¹ by all our missiles, will not be able even to stir without their own destruction. Afterwards either the fortune of the Roman people or our own valour will deliver us.' Being highly praised by the consul, he received a detachment of men² and proceeds under cover along the glen, and was not seen by the enemy until he came close to the place which he was making for. Then, while he attracted all eyes towards him, as they were all panic-struck with amazement, he both gave the consul time to withdraw his army to more open ground, and himself took his post on the very summit. The Samnites, whilst they wheel their standards first in one direction, then in another, missing the opportunity of effecting either object, can neither pursue the consul, except through the same defile in which a little before they had had him commanded by their weapons, nor march their army against the hill above them captured by Decius: but resentment urged them more against the latter (who had snatched from them a good chance of achieving their object), as well as the proximity of the place and the small numbers of the enemy themselves, and now they make up their minds to surround the hill on every side with armed men, now again to open a passage, so as to attack them as they descended into the defile. While still undecided what to do, night came upon them. Decius at first entertained hopes that he would have to fight with them from the higher ground as they came up the steep face of the hill: then astonishment seized him³ that they neither began the battle nor, if they were deterred from that design by the disadvantageous nature of the ground, surrounded him with works and a rampart. Then,

principes and *hastati* together formed the Antepilani, and in a legion of 4,200 infantry (ch. 25, 8) would amount to about half, as the maniples of the *triarii* were stronger than the rest. See viii. 8.

¹ *Subiectus*: p. 264, n. 6.

² *Præsidium* is used in the same sense, p. 72, n. 3.

³ *Incessit*: p. 42, n. 5.

calling the centurions to him, he said, 'Why, what ignorance of war and indolence is this? or how did those men obtain a victory over the Sidicinians and Campanians? You see their battalions wheeled to and fro, and sometimes collected into one body, then again deployed; as for [blockading] works, no one begins them, when we might by this time have been surrounded by a rampart. Then we should indeed be like these men if we were to delay here any longer than is convenient. Come then, come with me, in order that, while some daylight remains, we may discover in what places they post their guards and in what direction a way out of this is open.' All this he thoroughly examined, clad in a private soldier's cloak,¹ the centurions likewise whom he took with him being in the dress of common soldiers, so that the enemy might not notice that it was the general going round.

35. Then, having stationed the watches, he orders the word² to be passed to all the rest to muster to him in silence fully armed when the signal was given by the trumpet of the second watch.³ When they mustered at the spot in silence, as had been ordered, he said: 'You must observe this silence, soldiers, in listening to me, waiving the military mode of expressing assent. When I have thoroughly explained my opinion to you, then those of you who shall approve of the same plan will cross silently to the right side;⁴ we will adopt⁵ that plan which shall have the majority on its side. Now hear what I meditate. The enemy has surrounded you, who have not been carried hither by flight nor left behind through remissness: by valour you have seized this position, by valour must you needs⁶ make your

¹ *Sagulum*: a short military cloak or cape.

² *Tessera*, Graecis *ἐπιθήριον*, vel generalius *σύνθημα*, erat tacitum signum militibus datum.—Stroth. '*Tesserae* duplices erant. Alterae erant signa nocturnis excubiis data: alterae erant quibus imperator militibus indicabat quid fieri vellet.'—Drakenb. Cf. xxvii. 46 (*imit.*).

³ *Secundae vigiliae*: p. 72, n. 7.

⁴ *Transibitis*: for a similar mode of voting, cf. Thuc. I. lxxxvii. 1, 2.

⁵ *Ecce stabitur*: p. 224, n. 7.

⁶ *Opportet evadatis*: p. 264, n. 3.

way hence. By coming hither you have saved an excellent army for the Roman people: by forcing your way hence, save yourselves; you are men who deserve to bring aid to many, few as you are, and yourselves to need no man's help. You have to do with that enemy who yesterday through their folly did not avail themselves of the fortunate opportunity of destroying our whole army; who did not see this hill, so advantageously situated and hanging over their own heads, until [they saw it] captured by us; who, with so many thousand men themselves, did not either prevent us, so few in number, from ascending, or encompass us with a rampart when we were in possession of the position, though so much of the day was left. That [enemy] which, with their eyes open and wide awake, you thus baffled, it is your duty, nay, it is absolutely necessary,¹ to elude now that they are buried in sleep, for our affairs are in such a situation² that I have to point out your necessity to you rather than suggest any plan. For it cannot be a matter for deliberation whether you are to remain or to depart hence, since, except your arms and spirits mindful of those arms, fortune has left you nothing, and we must die by hunger and thirst if we fear the sword more than becomes men and Romans. Our only safety,³ therefore, is to sally forth from hence and get away. That we must do either by day or by night. But behold another point that is less doubtful; for, if daylight be awaited, what hope is there that the enemy, who have now, as you see, encircled the hill on every side with their own bodies, which are exposed [to our missiles], will not hem us in with a continuous rampart and ditch? But if night is favourable for a sally (as it is), this undoubtedly is the most suitable hour of the night. You have assembled at the signal of the second watch, a time which⁴ buries men in the deepest slumber:

¹ *Immo necesse est*: 'necesse' is only used of inevitable logical necessity: it is much stronger than 'oportet.' Cic. *Verr.* IV. xxxix; V. xiv.

² *In eo loco res sunt nostrae*: cf. 30, 9, 'eo ventum est.'

³ *Una est salus*: Verg. *Aen.* ii. 364, 'una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.'

⁴ *Quod tempus*: i.e. from 9 p.m. to midnight.

you will make your way through the midst of their bodies sound asleep, either in silence, escaping the notice of the unconscious [sleepers], or, if they perceive you, ready to strike a panic into them by a sudden shout. Only follow me, whom you have followed: I will follow the same fortune which led us hither. Come now, do you, to whom this plan appears salutary, cross over on foot to the right side.'

36. They all crossed over, and followed Decius as he advanced through the intervals which were left¹ between the guards. They had already made their way through the midst of the camp, when a soldier, in climbing over the bodies of the sentinels as they lay stretched in sleep, occasioned a noise by striking against a shield: when the sentinel, awakened by this, roused his neighbour, and they got up and began to awake others, not knowing whether² they were their own men or enemies, whether the detachment was making a sally or the consul had taken the camp, Decius, ordering the soldiers to raise a shout, since they were no longer unobserved, dismays them in addition by panic while they are still heavy with sleep: perplexed at which, they could neither take arms briskly nor pursue [the Romans]. In the midst of the confusion and uproar of the Samnites, the Roman detachment, slaying all the guards that came in their way, made their escape to the consul's camp. A considerable part of the night still remained, and they seemed to be in safety, when Decius said: 'Gallantly done,³ Roman soldiers. All ages will extol⁴ your march and return; but to behold⁵ such valour the light of day is necessary, nor do you deserve that silence and night should cover you on your return to the camp with such great glory. Here let us wait quietly for the dawn.' His words were obeyed; and as soon as it dawned a messenger

¹ *Intermissa custodiis loca*: Verg. *Aen.* ix. 239, 'interrupti ignes.'

² *Cives an*: p. 71, n. 7.

³ *Maecti virtute este*: p. 230, n. 1.

⁴ *Laudibus ferent*: p. 30, n. 3.

⁵ *Ad conspiciendam*: 'quo conspiciatur,' i.e. 'conspicua atque nis sit.'

was sent on first to the consul, and the camp awoke with great joy; and on the word being passed that they who had exposed their own lives to certain peril for the safety of all had returned safe and sound, pouring out to meet them with the greatest zeal¹ they praise them, congratulate them, call them each and all their deliverers, offer praises and thanks to the gods, and laud² Decius to the skies. This was a sort of camp-triumph for Decius, as he proceeded through the midst of the camp with his detachment fully armed, all eyes being fixed upon him, and men equalling the tribune to the consul in every kind of honour. When [the procession] reached the general's tent, the consul summons them to an assembly³ by sound of trumpet; and as he commenced the well-deserved praises of Decius, on the interposition of Decius himself he adjourned the assembly, as he advised the postponement of everything else, while the opportunity was in their grasp, and urged the consul to attack the enemy while they were both confounded at the panic of the night and dispersed around the hill in separate detachments:⁴ he even believed [he said] that some who had been sent out to pursue him were straggling through the forest. The legions were ordered to take arms; and marching out of the camp, as the wooded valley was now better known⁵ by means of their scouts, they are led against the enemy by a more open route [than before], and unexpectedly attacking him when off his guard, as the troops of the Samnites, scattered in every direction and most of them unarmed, were able neither to rally into one body, nor to take arms, nor to retire within the rampart, they first drive them in a panic into the camp, and then, overthrowing the guards, take the

¹ *Pro se*: p. 224, n. 1.

² *Ferunt* [laudibus]: n. 4, last page.

³ *Contionem*: p. 235, n. 4.

⁴ *Castellatim*: 'per singula castella singulasque stationes dispositas.'—Stroth.

⁵ *Notior*: than when the consul had blindly marched into the trap that was set for him. *Potentior*: than the one they had taken before.

camp itself. The shout rolls all round the hill and puts everyone to flight from their several posts. Thus a great part yielded to an enemy that never reached them: those whom the panic had driven within the rampart (now they amounted to thirty thousand) were all slain; the camp was plundered.

37.

After this successful issue, the consul, calling an assembly, celebrates the praises of Decius, not only as he had before commenced them but as now consummated by his recent valour; and besides other military gifts he presents him with a golden crown and a hundred oxen, and one fat white one of great beauty with gilded horns. The soldiers who had been in the detachment at the same time were presented with double rations of corn for ever, and for the present with an ox and two coats each. Following the consul's donation, the legions place on the head of Decius a grass crown for delivering them from a blockade,¹ expressing their approval of the gift by a shout: another crown, signifying the same honour, was conferred on him by his detachment. Adorned with these decorations he sacrificed the beautiful ox to Mars, and gave the hundred oxen as a present to the soldiers who had been with him in the expedition. For the same soldiers the legions collected a pound of corn and a pint of wine each:² and all this was done with great enthusiasm by military acclamation, a token of the assent of all. A third battle was fought at Suessula,³ in which the army of the Samnites that had been put to flight by Marcus Valerius, summoning from home all the flower of their youth, determined to try their fortune in a final contest. From Suessula hurried messengers came to Capua, and thence horsemen at full speed⁴ came to the consul Valerius to beg for aid. The troops were instantly put

¹ *Coronam obsidialem*: 'ut ab *obsidio* formatur "*obsidionalis*" [a crown awarded to a general who relieved the siege of a town], 'ita ab *obsidium* formari potest "*obsidialis*." Alibi tamen hac forma vocabulum illud me legere non memini.—Drakenb.

² *Libras farris et sextarios vini contulerunt*: v. 47.

³ *Suessula*: a Campanian town about ten miles S.-E. of Capua.

⁴ *Equites citati*: cf. p. 178, n. 6.

in motion, and leaving the baggage and a strong guard in charge of the camp, the army marched rapidly, and chose for their camp a very small spot not far from the enemy, inasmuch as, except their horses, they had not with them a crowd of other cattle and attendants. The army of the Samnites, as if there was to be no delay in fighting, drew up in line of battle: then, when no one came to meet them, they came up to the enemy's camp in battle array. There when they saw the troops within the rampart and those who were sent out in every direction to explore brought back word into how narrow a compass the camp had been contracted, inferring from that the small number of the enemy, the whole army cried out that they ought to fill up the trenches and tear down the rampart, and burst into the camp; and the war would have been ended at once by that rashness, had not the generals checked the impetuosity of the troops. But because their own numbers, a great burden on their supplies, were not far, in consequence first of their sitting down at Suessula and then of the delay in fighting, from being destitute of everything, it was resolved, while the enemy was trembling inside his fortifications, that their soldiers should be led through the country to get corn, [in the belief] that all supplies would fail the Romans in the meantime, who, being lightly equipped, had brought with them only as much corn as could be carried on their shoulders together with their arms. When the consul saw the enemy scattered through the country, the outposts left scantily manned,¹ encouraging his soldiers with a few words he led them to attack the camp. When he had taken it at the first shout and rush, more of the enemy being slain in their tents than at the gates and rampart, he ordered the captured standards to be collected into one place; and, leaving two legions behind as a guard and protection, warning them by a stern command not to touch the booty until he returned, he set out with his army in regular order; and, while the

¹ *Infrequentes*: vii. 8. 6, 'infrequentia conspecta signa essent' (note).

cavalry, sent on before, drove the scattered Samnites as it were in hunting toils,¹ he made a very great slaughter. For in their terror they could neither make up their minds by what signal to rally together, nor whether they should make for the camp or continue their flight farther:² and such was their flight and fear, that as many as forty thousand shields (though by no means so many were slain), and military standards to the number of a hundred and seventy, with those which had been captured in the camp, were brought in to the consul. Then they returned to the enemy's camp, and there all the plunder was given to the soldiers.

38.

The result of this contest³ compelled the Faliscans, as they were at truce only, to request a formal treaty from the Senate; and also diverted the Latins, when their armies were already prepared, from a Roman to a Pelignian⁴ war. Nor did the fame of this exploit confine itself within the limits of Italy: but the Carthaginians also sent ambassadors to Rome to offer their congratulations, with a gift of a golden crown to be placed⁵ in the Capitol in the shrine of Jupiter; it was twenty-five pounds in weight. Both consuls triumphed over the Samnites, while Decius followed them distinguished with praise and gifts, and in the rough jests of the soldiers⁶ the name of the tribune was not less celebrated than that of the consuls. The embassies of the Campanians and Suessulans were then heard, and to their entreaties it was granted that a garrison should be sent there to winter-quarters in order that the inroads of the Samnites might be repelled. Capua, even then⁷ by no means healthful to military discipline,

¹ *Indago*: 'series retium et plagarum qua venantes circumdant silvas.'—Drakenborch.

² *Longiorem*: predicate.

³ *Huius certaminis*: i.e. the whole Samnite war.

⁴ *Pelignum*: the Peligni lay east of the Marsi, whose country formed the north-east frontier of Latium. They, as well as their Marsian neighbours, were rude mountaineers, notorious in later times for their skill in magic.

⁵ *Poneretur*: notice the force of the subjunctive.

⁶ *Militari ioco*: p. 107, n. 4.

⁷ *Iam tum*: referring to the demoralisation that is said to have

averts from the memory of their country the soldiers' minds, which were relaxed by the supply¹ of all kinds of pleasure; and plans began to be formed in the winter-quarters of taking away Capua from the Campanians by the same kind of wickedness² as that by which they had taken it from its old possessors: 'and not undeservedly, [thought the conspirators,] would their own example turn against them. Why should the Campanians, who were able to protect neither themselves nor their property, possess the most fertile land in Italy and a city worthy of the land, rather than the victorious army which had driven the Samnites from thence by their own sweat and blood? Was it reasonable that their own sworn subjects should enjoy to the full that fertility and delightful climate, while they, weary of military service, wasted their labour³ in the pestilent⁴ and arid soil around their city, or within the city suffered the burdensome plague of usury that increased day by day?' These schemes, discussed in secret conspiracies and not yet communicated to all, were discovered by the new consul Gaius Marcius Rutilus, to whom, leaving his colleague Quintus Servilius in the city, the province of Campania had fallen by lot. Accordingly, when he was in possession of⁵ all these details just as they had occurred, having ascertained them through the tribunes, being taught both by years and experience, for he was consul now for the fourth

taken place in Hannibal's army in the Second Punic War after a winter spent in Capua, where 'quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicae:' xxiii. 18 (*sub fin.*).

¹ *Instrumento*: 'apparatu, materia, copia.'—Doering.

² *Eodem scelere*, &c.: iv. 37, 'traditur eo anno [A. U. C. 332] . . . Vulturum, Etruscorum urbem' (p. 263, n. 6), 'quae nunc Capua est, ab Samnitibus captam, Capuamque ab duce eorum Capye, vel, quod propius vero est, a campestri agro appellatam. Cepere autem prius bello fatigatis Etruscis, in societatem urbis agrorumque accepti, deinde festo die graves somno epulisque incolas veteres novi coloni nocturna caede adorti.'

³ 'Verbo *luctari* indicatur difficultas qua laborabant agri Romani cultores.'—Drakenb.

⁴ *Pestilente*: the country around Rome, the Campagna, was and still is very unhealthy at certain times of the year.

⁵ *Comperta haberet*: p. 19, n. 7.

time and had been dictator and censor,¹ he thought it best to frustrate the violence of the troops by postponing their hopes of executing their design whenever they wished, and thus spread a rumour that the garrisons would remain in winter-quarters in the same towns for the next year also; for they had been divided throughout the cities of Campania, and their plots had spread from Capua to the whole army. By giving this abatement to their intentions the mutiny was quelled for the present.

39. The consul, leading out his troops to the summer camp, determined, while he had the Samnites quiet, to purge the army by the dismissal of the turbulent men, by telling some that they had served their full time,² that others were weighed down³ with years or not strong enough in bodily vigour. Some were sent away on furlough,⁴ at first singly, then some [whole] cohorts also, because they had wintered⁵ far from their home and domestic affairs; under pretence also of military business, while some were sent in one direction, others in another, a great many were got rid of. And this large number the other consul and the praetor at Rome kept in the city by pretending one cause of delay after another. And at first, indeed, not understanding the artifice, they revisited their homes by no means unwillingly: after they saw that neither the first parties returned to the standards, nor was hardly anyone else except those who had wintered in Campania, and of these chiefly the ringleaders of the mutiny, sent away, at first wonder, then certain fear, entered their minds, that their plots had leaked out: now they would have

¹ *Dictatorque censorque*: 22, 7.

² *Emerita stipendia*: p. 29, n. 7.

³ *Graves aetate* (= 'affectos, afflictos'): ii. 19, 'iam aetate et viribus erat gravior.'

⁴ *Commeatus*: p. 31, n. 3: cf. iii. 24, 'eum tum frequentem ad signa sine ullo commeatu fuisse'; xxiii. 18 (end), 'magna pars sine commeatibus ab signis dilabebantur.'

⁵ *Quia hibernassent*: 'on the ground (pretext) that they had...': the subjunctive shows that Livy is not speaking in his own person.

to suffer trials,¹ informations, the secret punishment of them one by one, and the unbridled² and cruel tyranny of the consuls and patricians over them. Those who were in the camp spread these statements³ in secret conversation, seeing the sinews of the conspiracy taken away by the dexterity of the consul. One cohort, when it was not far from Anxur, posted itself near Lautulæ in a narrow wooded pass between the sea and the hills, to intercept those whom the consul, as has been said before, was dismissing under different pretexts. Their band was now very strong in numbers, nor was anything wanting to the organisation of a regular army except a leader. Without order, therefore, they came into the Alban territory committing depredations, and under the crest of Alba Longa they surround their camp with a rampart. Then having finished this work, during the rest of the day they debate about choosing a commander, not having sufficient confidence in any of those present: but who could be invited from Rome? What patrician or plebeian was there who would either knowingly expose himself to such peril, or to whom the cause of the army, mad with ill-treatment,⁴ could be safely entrusted? Next day, when the same discussion occupied them, some of the straggling marauders found out and brought word that Titus Quinctius⁵ was cultivating a farm in the Tusculan territory, forgetful of the city

¹ *Quaestio* afterwards, but not till the time of the Gracchi, also meant 'torture'; Cic. *De Am.* xi. 37.

² *Impotens*: 'quemadmodum *impotens* dicitur qui prae libidine sui non potens est' (p. 86, n. 5), 'ita *impotentia* vocantur quæ libinosa, immoderata, superba sunt. Hinc "*impotentia consilia*" (iii. 36), "*impotens regnum*" (viii. 5, 4), "*impotens crudelitas*" (*ib.* 31, 1), "*impotens iniuria*" (*ib.* 28, 8).—Raschig.

³ *Haec serunt*: Verg. *Aen.* vii. 339, 'sere crimina belli.' Liv. x. 19, 7, 'populares orationes serere.'

⁴ *Ex iniuria insanientis*: 'irascensis propter iniuriam a consule sibi factam, dimissis nimirum per causas speciosas militibus.'—Doering. 'At his iniuria nulla facta, verum ab ipsis orta erat,' says Duker: the phrase, if so, means: 'ex illata iniuria (post, ob illatam iniuriam) insaniebat exercitus, quando culpæ sibi conscius, quaestionesque, indicia, supplicia timens, quo iustam poenam effugeret insana inibat consilia.'—Raschig.

⁵ *T. Quinctium*: perhaps the consul of twelve years before: ch. 18, 10.

and its honours. He was a man of patrician family, who, as the lameness of one foot from a wound had put an end to his military career, which had been passed with great glory, determined to spend his life in the country,¹ far from ambition and the forum. On hearing his name they immediately recognised the man, and [praying] that it might turn out well,² they ordered him to be summoned to them. But there was little hope that he would do anything of his own free will: it was resolved that force and intimidation should be applied. Accordingly, those who had been sent for the purpose, having entered through the roof of his country-house in the silence of night, surprised Quinctius as he was heavy with sleep, and threatening that there was no alternative—either authority and honour or, when he tried to resist, death, if he did not follow—they dragged him to the camp. Immediately on his arrival he was styled commander, and they confer on him, terrified as he was at the strange³ and sudden occurrence, the emblems of authority, and bid him lead them to the city. Then, snatching up their standards⁴ more under the influence of their own impetuosity than by the intention of their general, they arrive in hostile array at the eighth milestone on the road which is now the Appian Way; and they would have proceeded immediately to the city, had they not heard that an army was coming against them and that Marcus Valerius Corvus had been named dictator against them, and Lucius Aemilius Mamercinus master of the horse.

40. As soon as they came in sight and recognised the arms and standards, instantly the memory of their country softened the rage of all. They were not yet so hardy to [shed]⁵ the blood of their fellow-citizens, nor

¹ *Ruri*: p. 267, n. 3.

² *Quod bene verteret*: i. 17. 10, iii. 54. 8, 'quod bonum faustum felixque sit': iii. 62, 'quod bene vertat, gesturum se illis morem . . . affirmat.'

³ *Miraculo*: v. 39 (*init.*).

⁴ *Convulsis signis*: on a halt, the standards were fixed in the ground, in the middle of the camp.

⁵ *Fortes ad*: p. 158, n. 2 ('inexpertus ad'). Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, ii.

had they known any except foreign wars, and revolt from their own countrymen was deemed utter madness; accordingly, now the generals, now the soldiers on both sides sought a meeting and conference: Quinctius, who was satiated even with arms taken up in defence of his country, much more¹ against it; Corvus, who comprised in his affection all his fellow-citizens, especially soldiers, and above all his own army. The latter advanced to a conference. To him, as he was immediately recognised, silence was given with no less respect by his adversaries than by his own men. 'At my departure from the city, soldiers,' he said, 'I thus implored the immortal gods, your national ones as well as mine, and submissively begged their favour, that they would grant me the glory of establishing concord, not victory over you. There have been and will be [opportunities] enough whence military glory may be obtained: hence we must seek peace. What I earnestly prayed of the immortal gods in offering my vows, that prayer you have the power to fulfil to me,² if you will remember that you have your camp not in Samnium nor among the Volscians, but on Roman soil: that those hills³ which you behold are those of your country, that this army is made up of your fellow-citizens, that I am your own consul, under whose leadership and auspices last year you twice routed the legions of the Samnites and twice took their camp by storm. I am Marcus Valerius Corvus, soldiers, whose nobility you have felt by kindnesses, not by wrongs, towards you: the proposer of no overbearing law or cruel decree of the Senate against you: in all my posts of authority more severe on myself than on you. And if birth or personal merit, or even high dignity or public honours could instil arrogance

688, 'vir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen.' Propert. ii. 8. 7, 'fortes ad proelia turmas.' *Sanguinem civilem*: Livy alludes to the bloodshed of the civil wars from Marius to Augustus.

¹ *Nedum*: not to say . . . ix. 18. 4.

² *Compotem voti*: p. 65, n. 1.

³ *Colles*: the seven hills of Rome, which would probably be in sight.

into anyone, from such [ancestors]¹ was I born, such a proof of what I was made of had I given, at such an age had I attained the consulship, that when only three-and-twenty years old I might have been a haughty consul to the patricians also, not only the commons. What act or word of mine when consul² have you heard more severe than when I was tribune? With the same even course did I administer two successive consulships, with the same shall that which I now hold, the imperious dictatorship, be administered; nor will I be more lenient to these soldiers of mine and of their country than towards you, who (I shudder to say it) are its enemies. You shall draw the sword against me, before I will draw it against you: on that side shall the trumpets sound, on that side shall the shout of battle and the onset first begin, if fight we must. Make up your minds to³ that which your fathers and grandfathers never did, neither those⁴ who seceded to the Sacred Mount, nor those who afterwards took post on the Aventine. Wait till your mothers and your wives come from the city with dishevelled hair to meet each one of you, as once they did to Coriolanus.⁵ Then the legions of the Volscians, because they had a Roman for their leader, refrained from violence: you, a Roman army, will not you cease from an unnatural⁶ war? Titus Quinctius, in whatever position, voluntarily or unwillingly, you have taken your stand on that side, if we must needs fight, do you then withdraw yourself to the rear: you would even flee and turn your back to your fellow-citizens with more honour than you would fight against your country. At present you will stand

¹ *Iis* [maioribus]: the antithesis to 'si cui genus' in the protasis.

² *Factum dictumve consulis*: cf. v. 2, 'quidnam illi consules dictatoresve facturi essent?'

³ *Inducite in animum*: iii. 71, 'non potuisse se tamen inducere in animum quin,' &c.; xxvii. 9, 'quod consules in senatu ut pronunciarent in animum inducere non possent.'

⁴ *Illi*: ii. 32. *Hi*: iii. 50. Cf. p. 204, n. 3.

⁵ *Ut olim Coriolano*: ii. 40.

⁶ *Impio*: Verg. *Aen.* i. 294, 'furor impius,' 'the fiend of civil strife.'

properly and honourably among the foremost to make peace, and may you be a salutary member¹ of this conference! Require and offer² what is fair: though we ought to come to an agreement even on unfair terms³ rather than engage in an unnatural contest with one another.' Titus Quinctius, turning to his own men [with his eyes] full of tears, said: 'In me too, soldiers, if there is any use for me, you have a better leader for peace than for war. For it was not a Volscian or a Samnite that uttered those words you have just heard, but a Roman, your own consul, your own commander, soldiers, whose auspices in your defence you have already made trial of: 'desire not⁴ to make trial of them against you. The Senate had other generals as well who would fight with you in a more hostile spirit: they chose the one who would be most merciful to you, his own soldiers, and whom, as your own commander, you yourselves would most trust. Even those who have the power to conquer desire peace: what ought we to desire? Why do we not renounce anger and hope, those deceitful advisers, and entrust ourselves and all that is ours to his well-proved honour?'

All approving with a shout, Titus Quinctius, advancing before the standards, declared that the soldiers would be at the disposal of the dictator: he entreated him to undertake the cause of his unfortunate fellow-citizens, and to maintain it, when undertaken, with the same good faith wherewith he was wont to administer the affairs of the state. For himself privately he made

41.

¹ *Interpres*: one who has a part in any transaction; prob. originally a go-between or agent in sales: the sense of 'interpreter' is later.

² *Ferte*: 'offerre, proponere:' iv. 10, 'victis conditiones accipendas esse, non ferendas;' x. 19, 8; iii. 24, 'ferebant Volscio iudices' (challenged him to trial).—Drakenb. *Cf.* vi. 15, 10, 'sortem reliquam ferte.'

³ *Vel iniquis standum*: p. 224, n. 7.

⁴ *Experti* may possibly be passive, agreeing with 'cuius' (*cf.* p. 117, n. 5): 'well proved in your defence.'

⁵ *Nolite velle*: 'nolite' is used as a simple negative sign. The phrase occurs in Cicero, *Phil.* VII. viii. 25, 'nolite igitur id velle, quod fieri non potest;' *Coel.* 42; *Balb.* 28. *Cf.* *Ov. Heroid.* xxi. 58, 'velis velle.'

no terms:¹ he desired not to ground his hopes on anything but his innocence: but terms should be made for the troops, as had once been made at the hands of the Senate with the commons, and again with the legions,² namely, that the secession should not be prejudicial to them.' Praising Quinctius and bidding the rest have good courage, the dictator rode back to the city at full gallop,³ and, with the consent of the Senate, proposed to the people in the Poeteline grove that the secession should not be made [a ground of] punishment to any soldier.⁴ He also entreated the citizens, with their leave, that no one should reproach any man with⁵ that affair, either in jest or earnest. A military law, declared inviolable, was also passed, that no soldier's name, when he had been once enrolled, should be erased, except at his own wish: and an addition was made to the law, that no one, having been military tribune, should afterwards be a centurion.⁶ This was demanded by the conspirators on account of Publius Salonus, who had been both tribune of the soldiers and chief centurion almost in alternate years: the latter they now call [the centurion] of the front⁷ rank. The troops were incensed against this man because he had

¹ *Cacore*: p. 250, n. 2.

² See p. 288, n. 4. '*Plebi in Sacrum Montem, legionibus in Aventinum secedentibus.*'—Stroth.

³ *Equo citato*: p. 178, n. 6. Perhaps the phrase only means 'hastily': the dictator was not allowed to ride on horseback without special permission of the people: hence the necessity of appointing with him a '*magister equitum.*'

⁴ *Ne cui militum fraudi secessio esset*: for this meaning of '*fraus*' cf. Hor. C. II. xix. 20,

'Nodo coerces viperino

Bistonidum sine fraude crines;'

and *Carm. Saec.* 41,

'Per ardentem sine fraude Troiam

Castus Aeneas patriae superstes

Liberum munivit iter.'

The phrase in the text is a legal one.

⁵ *Exprobraret*: p. 98, n. 6.

⁶ *Ordinum ductor*: i.e. centurion. '*Ordo erat numerus militum cui praeficiebatur centurio.*'—Drakenb. Cf. viii. 8. 4, '*ordo sexagenos milites, binos centuriones, vexillarium unum habebat.*' Cic. *Phil.* I. viii. 21, '*quicunque ordinem duxit.*' See p. 274, n. 4.

⁷ *Primi pilii*: p. 235, n. 5.

always been opposed to their revolutionary plans, and had fled from Lautulae to avoid having any part in them. Accordingly, when this point alone was not obtained from the Senate for the sake of Saloni¹, then Saloni¹, adjuring the Conscript Fathers not to value his rank more highly than the concord of the state, prevailed in having that also carried. Equally unreasonable¹ was the demand that deductions should be made from the pay of the cavalry (they received triple pay at that period), because they had been opposed to the conspiracy.

Besides these [stipulations] I find in some writers that Lucius Genucius, tribune of the commons, proposed to the commons that it should not be lawful to practise usury: likewise that provision was made by other resolutions of the commons that no one should receive the same magistracy within ten years, nor hold two magistracies in one year, and that, above all, it should be lawful for both the consuls elected to be plebeians. If all these concessions were made to the commons, it is clear that the revolt had possessed no little strength. In other annals it is recorded that Valerius was not appointed dictator, but that the whole affair was managed by the consuls, and that the army of the conspirators had been hurriedly driven² to arms, not before they came to Rome, but at Rome: and that it was not on the country-house of Titus Quinctius that an attack was made by night, but on the residence of Gaius Manlius, and that *he* was seized by the conspirators to become their leader: that, proceeding from thence to the fourth milestone, they posted themselves in a fortified position; and that it was not by the leaders that mention of a reconciliation was started, but when the armies had advanced to battle in arms, mutual salutation suddenly took place, and mingling together the soldiers began to join hands and embrace each other with tears; and that the consuls, seeing the

42.

¹ *Impotens*: p. 285, n. 2. *Triplex*: p. 42, n. 3.

² *Ad arma consternatam*: cf. 'in fugam consternari,' x. 43. 13; 'ad arma consternari,' xxi, 24.

minds of the troops averse to fighting, were compelled to lay before the Senate [measures] for restoring concord. So little agreement is there among ancient historians, except that there really was a mutiny and that it was appeased.¹ The rumour of this sedition and also the serious war undertaken with the Samnites alienated several states from the Roman alliance; and besides the long-doubtful fidelity of the treaty with the Latins, the Privernatians also by a sudden incursion ravaged Norba and Setia, Roman colonies in their neighbourhood.

¹ Mommsen thinks the whole tale a romance: vol. i. p. 390 (note), he calls it 'equally confused and sentimental.'

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FREE GOVERNMENT.—ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT.—TYRANNY.—
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A FREE government is not a government in which liberty prevails, or in which there is an absence of inconvenient restraints and oppression on the part of the sovereign power; but a government in which there is a plurality of rulers, and fixed laws respected by the administrative authority.* A free government is thus opposed to an arbitrary or despotic government, such as the Roman, French, or Austrian empires. In this sense, Hume¹ opposes free states to absolute monarchies, and Rousseau speaks of 'the difference between *free* and *monarchical* states;'² *i.e.* between states where the sovereignty belongs

¹ 'The provinces of absolute monarchies are always better treated than those of free states.' Part i. Essay 3.

² *Contrat Social*, liv. iii. ch. 8. According to Sir James Mackintosh, 'as general security is enjoyed in very different degrees under different governments, those which guard it most perfectly, are by way of eminence called *free*. Such governments attain most completely the end which is common to all governments. A free constitution of government, and a good constitution of government, are therefore different expressions for the same idea.' *On the Law of Nature and Nations*, p. 60. However, one who thought with Hobbes that absolute monarchy is the best form of government, would probably not call *that* a free constitution. On the difference between free and despotic governments, see likewise Bentham's *Fragment on Government*, p. 113.*

* *Fixed laws respected by the administrative authority*. This condition is not recognised by Austin. Sir James FitzJames Stephen (*Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, p. 171), goes so far as to declare that 'democracy has, as such, no definite or assignable relation to liberty;' but this can hardly be admitted, for the reason given by Mr. James Mill in the passage quoted above (p. 100), which is almost conclusive for this purpose, though justly criticised by Sir G.

C. Lewis on other grounds. An absolute despot will naturally put down whatever displeases him; a more numerous body are pretty sure to present variety in their likes and dislikes, so that the practices which they will agree to suppress or enforce, will, *ceteris paribus*, be comparatively few. It is true on the other side that the despot may be indifferent to practices very hateful to the majority, but which do not touch him personally.—W.

* And Austin's 6th Lecture (*Student's Austin*, p. 112). He says: 'They who distin-

CHAPTER V.

Of the real and nominal price of Commodities, or of their price in Labour, and their price in Money.

EVERY MAN IS RICH OR POOR ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE IN WHICH HE CAN AFFORD TO ENJOY THE NECESSARIES, CONVENIENCES, AND AMUSEMENTS OF LIFE; only a small part of which can be supplied by a man's own labour; the greater part must be derived from the labour of other people, and which he must purchase; hence labour is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities, p. 30.

*The real price of everything is the toil and trouble of acquiring it.*¹ What is bought with money is purchased by labour, as much as what we acquire by the toil of our own body. The money saves us the toil, and contains the value of a certain quantity of labour. *Labour* was the *first* price, the *original purchase money*, that was paid for all things: by it all the wealth of the world was purchased, and its value is equal to the quantity of labour which it can command, p. 31.

'WEALTH,' as Hobbes says, 'IS POWER,'² i.e., it may afford a man the *means* of acquiring power, by giving him the command of other men's labour; and his fortune is greater or less according to the quantity of other men's labour which it enables him to command, p. 31.

Though labour be the real measure of the exchange-

¹ Adam Smith does not make any distinction here between value and price. Modern economists regard the latter as a particular case of the former. Observe that the toil and trouble of the acquirer may have been less than the toil and trouble of the producer. Value may be defined as 'The ratio in which commodities are exchanged against each other in the open market.' (Cairnes.) Therefore there can be no such thing as a general rise or fall in values.

² *Leviathan*, Part I. cap. x.

ESTATES IN REMAINDER.

41

Rules for the creation of valid remainders.

1. There must be some particular estate precedent to the estate in remainder, (or) -

Every estate in remainder requires a particular estate to support it.

2. The remainder must commence or pass out of the grantor at the time of the creation of the particular estate.

3. The remainder must vest in the grantee during the continuance of the particular estate, or eo instanti that it determines.

[These rules are based upon the feudal principle that an estate of freehold cannot be created to commence in futuro, but ought to take effect at once either in possession or remainder. The whole estate—i.e. the particular estate and the remainders—passes from the grantor to the grantees by the livery of seisin.

The above rules also imply another, that the feudal seisin must never be without an owner; thus in the case of a grant to A, for twenty years and one year after the end of such term to B, in fee, the remainder would be void on account of the feudal seisin reverting to the grantor after A's term.]

Remainders are also divided into—

I. Vested and II. Contingent.**Vested remainder. Definition.**

I. *'If an estate, be it ever so small, be always ready from its commencement to its end to come into possession the moment the prior estates happen to determine, it is then termed a vested remainder.'*—Will. R. P. p. 245, 10th ed.

II. A contingent remainder is a future estate which waits for and depends on the termination of the estates

26 *Chief Real Property Statutes.*

1856.
19 & 20 Vict.
c. 108, s. 50.

If the term of a tenant has determined, and the tenant refuses to deliver up possession, the landlord may enter a plaint in the County Court for recovery of possession. This is limited to cases where the rent does not exceed 50*l.* per annum. Ste. 296.

19 & 20 Vict.
c. 120.

An Act to facilitate leases and Sales of settled estates.
[21 & 22 Vict. c. 77.]

(2) Chancery in certain cases authorized to permit leases for certain long terms, for agricultural, mining, and other purposes.

(5) Any lease granted under the Act may be surrendered to be renewed.

(11) The Court may authorize the sale of settled estates and the timber thereon.

(32) Any person entitled to the possession of an estate for life under a settlement may demise the same for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, under certain conditions. Tenants by the courtesy and in dower may demise for twenty-one years. Ste. 252, 253, 263, 266, 279, 288, 478.

1858.
21 & 22 Vict.
c. 77.

Act to amend the Settled Estates Act, 1856. Ste. 479.

21 & 22 Vict.
c. 94.

An Act to amend the Copyhold Acts. Ste. 224, 630, 642, 645.

1859.
22 & 23 Vict.
c. 35.

An Act to further amend the law of Property.

(1) A licence given to any lessee or assignee to extend only to the permission actually given.

(2) Restricted operation of partial licences.

(3) Assignee of part of reversion to have the

CONTRACTS MADE 'LITERIS.'

49

2. 'A persona in personam transcriptio.'

When the sum which Titius owes me is entered in my journal as advanced to you (this substitution being of course made at the suggestion of Titius).

According to Theophilus the 'nomen transcriptitium' always effected a novation: 'Prior obligatio extinguebatur; nova autem, id est litterarum, nascebatur,' but the case related by Val. Maximus, viii. 2. 2, goes to prove that this was not always the case.

Gaius tells us that it was questioned whether aliens were bound by this contract or not, because such an obligation belonged to the civil law.

Sabinus and Cassius held that in the case of a 'transcriptio a re in personam' even aliens were bound.

'These literal contracts . . . seem never to have had any great importance. They remained in use for the mutual transactions of the "argentarii" (or brokers), long after they had become obsolete for other persons. But before the time of Justinian they had disappeared altogether. In the Corpus Juris there is no literal contract, properly so called, no use of writing as the formal ground of an obligation. That some formal ground was necessary, that a mere informal agreement of two persons was not sufficient to establish a full legal obligation, was the general principle of the Roman law, though subject to some ancient and important exceptions.'—Hadley's 'Introduction to Roman Law,' pp. 216, 217.

'In the Literal or Written Contract, the formal act by which an obligation was superinduced on the convention, was an entry of the sum due, where it could be specifically ascertained, on the debit side of a ledger. The explanation of this contract turns on a point of Roman domestic manners, the systematic character and exceeding regularity of book-keeping in ancient times. There are several minor difficulties of old Roman Law, as, for example, the nature of the Slave's Peculium, which are only

Grammatical.

4. Write out in full :—

Imper. mood of <i>fero</i> .	Imper. mood of εἶμι.
Imperf. subj. of <i>patior</i> .	Pres. opt. pass. of σιγάω.
Perf. indic. of <i>absum</i> .	1st aor. imper. mid. of σημαίνω.
Fut. perf. of <i>profiscor</i> .	Fut. ind. act. of μένω.
Pres. subj. of <i>dignor</i> .	Paulo-post fut. of λέγω.

5. Give instances in both Greek and Latin of *De monstrative, Interrogative, Possessive, and Reflexive* Pronouns; and give the meaning of *quidam, quisquam, quis quis, quisque, quis*; and of πόσος, ποῖος, πότερος, τόσος οἷος, ὅσος, ὅστις.

6. Illustrate by examples the cases governed by *doni gaudeo, credo, doceo, obliviscor*,—τυγχάνω, ἔπομαι, ποιεῖν ἀκούω, ἔχω.

7. What is meant by *ablative absolute, apposition, attraction, contraction, cognate accusative*?

8. Illustrate by examples the meaning of, and cases governed by, *ante, circa, ab, super, prae*,—ἐπὶ, ἀντί, μετά, ἀπό, πρός.

9. Distinguish—

<i>si velit, si vellet.</i>	ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ, αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ.
<i>ejus caput, suum caput.</i>	ἄλλα, ἄλλε.
<i>metuit te, metuit tibi.</i>	ἦ, ἦ, ἦ ἦ.
<i>nobis interest, nostrā interest.</i>	ἔστησε, ἔστηκε.
<i>amatum iri, amandum esse.</i>	ἵνα βλέψῃς, ἵνα βλέψῃς.

10. Translate into Latin :—

- (a) He said he would come whenever he was wanted
- (b) He said, I will come whenever I am wanted.
- (c) He sold the house for as much as he expected.
- (d) He exhorted his soldiers not to lose the opportunity of freeing their country.
- (e) The first Consuls were elected at Rome in the two hundred and forty-fifth year after the building of the city.

14

Examination Papers.

4. 'The principal cause of phonetic degeneracy in language is when people shrink from the effort of articulating each consonant and vowel.'

Are there any phenomena of phonetic change which cannot be fully explained in this way?

5. Apply the principles of comparative philology to an examination of the following words:—*ἄρκτος, βάρος, γίγνομαι, δαήρ, δέσποινα, εἶμι, ἥλιος, ἦπαρ, ἵππος, μοῖρα, ὀστέον, πίπτω, ποῖος, ὕβρις, ὕπνος.*

6. Trace the decay of the Latin diphthongs.

7. Explain the various ways in which the perfect tense is formed in Latin. Illustrate from Greek.

8. By what arguments has the existence of the digamma been established? In what authors are traces of its use to be found?

No. XIII.

1. What is the locative case?

2. Analyse the forms *amaverimus, lapidum, alicubi.*

3. Explain the formation of *calumnia, convivium, drachma, faculum, sepulcrum, stolidus, Vertumnus, auctumnus.*

4. Give some account of the formation of adverbs.

5. Explain, with instances, Anacoluthon, Zeugma, Pleonasm, Irony.

6. Translate the following sentences, so as to show the meanings of the middle voice:—

(1) *πᾶν σοι φράσω τὰ ληθὲς οὐδὲ κρυφίμαι.*

(2) *καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐδίκασε, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐδικαζόμεθα· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπεψήφισε, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐψηφίζόμεθα· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔλεξε ἡμεῖς δὲ διελεγόμεθα.*

100 *Historical and General Questions.*

2. Trace the establishment of the Roman rule over Italy, *or* over Spain, Gaul, and England.

3. What was the nature and value of the influence of the Papacy when at its height?

4. Estimate the importance in European history of the Edict of Nantes and its Revocation.

5. What changes in the boundaries of European states would be introduced by adopting the principle of Nationalities?

6. What do you know of any *three* of the following : —Themistocles, Demosthenes the Orator, Pyrrhus the Epirot, Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, Herod the Great, Agricola, Charlemagne, Hildebrand, Francis Bacon, Grotius, Burke?

7. Sketch briefly, fixing as many dates as you can, any *two* of the following :

(a) The Wars between Greece and Persia.

(b) The Crusades.

(c) The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as an age of discovery.

(d) The Thirty Years' War.

(e) The French Revolution and the First Empire.

CXX.

1. Trace the territorial increase of Prussia, since it became a kingdom. What are its claims, apart from the sword, to the first place in Germany?

2. 'It is the tendency of every nation to depreciate the share of its allies in any common achievement.' Illustrate from the military history of Rome and of England.

3. The most effective national boundaries under various conditions of civilisation.

Arithmetical.

61

4. A bankrupt pays 5s. 9d. in the pound ; if his assets were 500*l.* more, he would pay 6s. 5d. : what are his assets and his debts ?

5. Find the present worth of 122*l.* 16s. due 7 months hence at 4 per cent.

6. Potatoes are bought at 10½*d.* the stone, and have to pay a duty of 1*l.* the ton ; if they are sold at 1½*d.* the lb., what is the profit per cent. ?

7. Find the compound interest on 5000*l.* for 4 years at 5 per cent.

8. Find the value of 3840 articles at 19s. 11¾*d.* each. Three purchasers divide them in the proportion of 3, 4, 5 : what will each pay ?

9. Extract the square root of 196, 3½ — 1⅞.

10. I sell out 12500*l.* from the Three per Cents. at 96 ; I invest one-third of the proceeds in Egyptian Six per Cent. Bonds at 125, and the remainder in land which yields 2¼ per cent. net. What is my difference in income ?

11. What quantity of Turkey carpet is required for a room 20 feet 4 inches long, and 18 feet 8 inches broad, allowing a margin of 2 feet 8 inches all round ? Find also the number of tiles each 8 inches by 4 which will be needed to fill this margin.

XXVII.

1. Find by Practice the cost of 4 cwt. 2 qrs. 12 lbs. at 4*l.* 13s. 4*d.* per quarter.

2. Reduce ⅔ of 1*d.* to the fraction of 17s. 6*d.* ; and find what fraction 6 oz. 15 dwt. is of a lb. Troy.

3. Simplify :

$$(1) \frac{7}{1 - \frac{2}{3\frac{3}{4}}} ; \quad (2) \left\{ \frac{3\frac{1}{2}}{7} + \frac{2}{10\frac{1}{2}} - \left(\frac{5}{18} \text{ of } \frac{4}{7} \right) \right\} + \frac{4}{7}$$

the Law of Real Property.

10. 'So that, in process of time, copyhold tenure must disappear from our present modes of holding land.' Explain this historically.

...Ste. 645. Williams 356-358.

11. Trace and account for the gradual conversion of strictly servile occupation into certain and heritable tenure.

Ste. 214 *et seq.* Williams R. P. 336-339. Digby 41 *et seq.*, 109, 213-222.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INCORPOREAL HEREDITAMENTS.

(Stephen's 'Commentaries,' 647-693, 7th ed.; 666-712, 6th ed.)

1. Distinguish carefully between a corporeal and incorporeal hereditament, and comment on the principle adopted as the basis of division.

Ste. 647. Austin 372, 708. Williams 10. Digby 229.

2. 'In the transfer of incorporeal property, when alone and self-existent, formerly lay the distinction between it and corporeal property.' Explain this.

Williams 11, 231. Ste. 511. Digby 128, 331 (7), 328 (4).

3. Define an easement, and distinguish easements from profits. Is a right to draw off water from a well *in alieno solo* a profit or an easement?

Ste. 648. *Race v. Ward*, 4 Ell. and Bl. 702. Goddard on 'Easements' 1, 2. Digby 127.

4. Sketch the history, and give an outline of the leading principles, of the law relating to rights of common.

Digby 134-137. Ste. 649-657. Lord Hatherley in *Warrick v. Queen's College*, L. R. 6 Chan. App. 720. Maine's 'Village Communities' 85 *et seq.* Elton's 'Law of Commons' ch.

The Old Testament.

67

Enhakkore (*Spring of the crier*), where God provided Samson with water from the jawbone of an ass.

Gilgal (*Rolling*), where Joshua circumcised the second time the children of Israel.

‘And the Lord said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal unto this day.’

Helkath-Nazzarim (*The field of the strong men*), where twelve men of Judah encountered twelve men of Benjamin, and none of either party survived. This event was the prelude to a battle in which Joab and the men of Judah defeated Abner.

Jehovah-jireh (*God will provide*), the scene of Abraham’s meditated sacrifice of Isaac.

‘My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering.’

Jehovah-nissi (*Jehovah my banner*), an altar built by Moses to commemorate the defeat of the Amalekites by Joshua at Rephidim.

Jehovah-shalom (*Jehovah is peace*), an altar built by Gideon when he received the divine call in Ophrah.

‘And the Lord said unto him, Peace be unto thee ; fear not : thou shalt not die.’

Mahanaim (*Two hosts*), where Jacob met a host of angels on his return from Padan-aram.

‘And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God’s host ; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim.’

Peniel or **Penuel** (*The face of God*), where Jacob wrestled with an angel.

‘And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel ; for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.’

Perez-Uzzah (*The disaster of Uzzah*), where Uzzah was struck dead on touching the ark of God which David was removing to Jerusalem.

Many halting-places of the Israelites had names conferred on them by Moses to commemorate particular events : such were *Marah bitter*, *Massah temptation*, *Meribah strife*, *Taberah burning*, *Kibroth Hattaavah graves of lust*, *Hormah utter destruction*.

16

Questions and Exercises

2. How comes it that a 'country can support in comfort a population many times larger than it could formerly support in comparative discomfort? and how does the fact affect the alleged 'tendency' of population to outrun the means of subsistence?

Explain carefully the ambiguity attaching to the word 'tendency' as here employed.

The word 'tendency' in the phrase 'tendency towards a certain result' may signify—

1. 'The existence of a cause which, if operating unimpeded, would produce that result' (e.g. in this sense a man has a greater 'tendency' to fall prostrate than to stand erect).

2. 'The existence of such a state of things that that result may be expected to take place.' (In this sense man has a greater tendency to stand erect than to fall prostrate.)

In sense 1, Population has a 'tendency' to increase beyond subsistence; i.e. There are in man propensities which, if unrestrained, lead to this result.

In sense 2, Subsistence has (in the progress of society) a 'tendency' to increase at a greater rate than population; or, at least, with a continually *diminishing inferiority*.—See *Whately*, Lectures on Political Economy, ix. 248–250.

3. Cheap labour makes cheap food; cheap food stimulates population; the increase of population makes labour still cheaper—where are we to stop?

F. 174. M. ii. 15. 7.

4. What would be the general results in the following cases :—

(1) Capital and population remain stationary, and a sudden improvement takes place in the arts of production?

(2) Population rapidly increases while capital and the arts of production remain stationary?

(1) M. iv. 3. 4. (2) M. iv. 3. 1.

B.C. 220] OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

3

endeared himself both to the soldiers and the general, and, on Hasdrubal's death, was unanimously elected to the chief command.¹

4. Hannibal's character. Fearless, yet prudent in danger; powerful in body and active in mind; careful of his soldiers, and strict in discipline, Hannibal possessed all the qualities of a great commander. He was moderate, nay abstemious in his bodily habits, modest in dress, and only conspicuous for his arms and horses. By sharing every danger with the meanest soldier, he endeared himself to his men: and he was always the first to enter the fight, and the last to leave it. Livy is rather liberal to him on the score of vices: here they are—*inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica,*² *nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio*—no conscience at all.

5. WAR BEGINS IN SPAIN, B.C. 220.—Hannibal, with a view of causing the Romans to take up arms, determines to attack the Saguntines—a people by treaty³ independent both of

¹ *Prærogativam militarem.*] The tribe which voted first in a Roman election was called *prærogativa* (*præ* and *rogo*) and it generally carried the votes of the tribes which followed it; for it was chosen by lot, and the lot was supposed to be under the especial care of the gods. On the whole subject of *Comitia*, vide *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s. v.

² *Punica fides.*] A proverbial expression among the Romans for 'bad faith.' They were not much better than the Carthaginians themselves. With regard also to the charge of cruelty, Livy does not bring forward throughout his book a sufficient number of instances to justify it: and though Hannibal is charged in the same way by other historians, it is very doubtful if their accounts are authentic. Livy does not call the treacherous massacre of 2,000 Capuans by Marcellus cruel!

³ For an account of this treaty, see p. 9, note.

44

SYNOPSIS OF THE ANNALS OF [BOOK III.]

'e cetero senatu'—to remedy the existing anomalies in the law; and this commission was 'modicum in præsens levamentum.']

29. Honours of Nero, son of Germanicus. Nero, one of the sons of Germanicus, now entering on manhood, was commended to the Senate by Tiberius; who obtained for him relief from the vigintiviratus,¹ and that he should be a candidate for the prætorship five years before the legal period: 'non sine irrisu audientium.' 'Additur Pontificatus.' He was soon after married to Julia, daughter of Drusus, an event which gave as much joy as the engagement of Sejanus' daughter to the son of Claudius did displeasure.

30. Sallustius Crispus. L. Volusius and C. Sallustius Crispus died at the end of the year. The first, of an old family, but never hitherto 'præturam egressa,' had lent honour to it by having been Consul and one of the Triumvirate 'legendis equitum decuriis.'² The second, a grand-nephew of the historian, by whom he had been adopted, was of an equestrian family; and though well able to have attained the highest honours, had preferred to imitate Mæcenas, and 'sine dignitate Senatoriâ multos triumphalium consulariumque potentia anteire.' He was a man of great ability, and after the death of Mæcenas was 'præcipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur,'—e.g. he was 'interficiendi Postumi Agrippæ conscius.'

A.D. 21. 31. Corbulo and Sulla.

Tiberius IV. Drusus II. Consuls, 'patrisque atque filii collegio annus insignis.' Tiberius retreated to Campania.³ Drusus found an opportunity of gaining popularity by composing the quarrel between Domitius Corbulo, 'præturâ

¹ The Vigintiviratus was a kind of Police-board, which had charge of the mint, of the mending of streets, of crimes ending in mortal violence, &c.

² This power, 'recognoscendi turmas equitum,' was transferred by Augustus to a Triumviratus.

³ Tacitus says—'Longam et continuum absentiam paulatim meditans, sive ut amoto patre Drusus munia consulatus solus impleret.'

and the other less, erroneous : and, therefore, since to hit exactly on the mean is difficult, one must take the least of the evils as the safest plan ;¹ and this a man will be doing if he follows this method.

We ought also to take into consideration our own natural bias ; which varies in each man's case and will be ascertained from the pleasure and pain arising in us. Furthermore, we should force ourselves off in the contrary direction, because we shall find ourselves in the mean after we have removed ourselves far from the wrong side, exactly as men do in straightening bent timber.²

Natural
bias to be
taken into
account.

But in all cases we must guard most carefully against what is pleasant, and pleasure itself because we are not impartial judges of it.

We ought to feel in fact towards pleasure as did the old counsellors towards Helen, and in all cases pronounce a similar sentence : for so by sending it away from us we shall err the less.³

And espe-
cially the
universal
bias towards
pleasure.

Well, to speak very briefly, these are the precautions by adopting which we shall be best able to attain the mean.

¹ 'Δεῦτερος πλοῦς is a proverb,' says the Scholiast on the Phædo, 'used of those who do any thing safely and cautiously, inasmuch as they who have miscarried in their first voyage, set about their preparations for the second cautiously ;' and he then alludes to this passage.

² That is, you must allow for the recoil.

'Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurret.'

³ This illustration sets in so clear a light the doctrines entertained respectively by Aristotle, Eudoxus, and the Stoics, regarding pleasure, that it is worth while to go into it fully.

The reference is to Iliad iii. 154-160. The old counsellors, as Helen comes upon the city wall, acknowledge her surpassing beauty, and have no difficulty in understanding how both nations should have incurred such suffering for her sake ; still, fair as she is, home she must go that she bring not ruin on themselves and their posterity.

This exactly represents Aristotle's relation to Pleasure : he does not, with Eudoxus and his followers, exalt it into the Summum Bonum (as Paris would risk all for Helen), nor does he with the Stoics call it wholly evil (as Hector might have said that the woes Helen had caused had 'banished all the beauty from her cheek'), but, with the aged counsellors, admits its charms, but aware of their dangerousness resolves to deny himself ; he 'Feels her sweetness, yet defies her thrall.'

30 *TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ORGANON.*

evidence, all subordinate to them by means of others), whenever we try to show on its own evidence that which is not self-evident, then we beg the question. . . .

Prior Analytics II. 23, §§ 1-4.

65. How then terms are related to one another, in respect of conversions, and the being more eligible or more to be avoided, is manifest. We ought now to state that not only are demonstrative and dialectical syllogisms formed by the figures described above, but rhetorical syllogisms also, and generally speaking all belief whatever, and belief arrived at by whatever method. For we arrive at all our beliefs either by syllogism or from induction.

Induction then, and the inductive syllogism, is to prove the major term of the middle¹ by means of the minor; for instance, if B is the middle of the terms during Cæsar's absence at Alexandria, and without his

¹ The *middle term* in this description seems to mean the term which is such in extent. The major is the most general of the three, and is proved of the middle by examining the minor, which consists of all the individuals that compose the middle. We must make sure whether our minor term does include all the individuals of the middle—*ἐὰν ἀριστοτέρῃ τὸ Γ τῇ Β καὶ μὴ ὑπερτελεῖται τὸ μέσον*—if we are to have a valid *induction*, as Aristotle understands the word. It is clear that such an induction can easily be put into syllogistic form:—

All men, horses, and mules are long-lived,
All the gall-less animals are men, horses, and mules;
∴ All gall-less animals are long-lived.

Many logicians regard this induction as the only perfect type; but Mill's idea of induction is not the same as Aristotle's: he examines *some* of the individuals composing the middle, and endeavours to lay down canons, which will enable us rightly to infer the 'major of the middle by the minor,' though it is not so convertible with the middle—is only a part of the middle.

knowledge, he was appointed master of the horse through the influence of the dictator's friends. Then he considered that in virtue of his office he might fairly live with Hippias,¹ and give the tribute horses to the *mimic* actor Sergius. At that time he had selected as his place of residence, not the house which he has at present such difficulty in retaining, but that of Marcus Piso. But why should I dwell upon his decrees, his robberies, the inheritances which he gave to his adherents, or seized from their lawful owners? It was want of money which compelled him; he knew not where to turn his steps; he had not yet received his large inheritance from Lucius Rubrius, or Lucius Turselius; he had not yet succeeded as heir with such rapidity to the property of Pompeius and many others who were abroad. His only chance of living was in robber-fashion—to have whatever he could steal.

But all this we may pass over, as betokening a hardier kind of villany: let us speak rather of the most degrading class of his misdemeanours. With your capacious swallow, your vast stomach, your gladiator-like strength of frame, you had consumed such quantities of wine at the marriage-feast of Hippias, that you could not help puking on the following day in the presence of the Roman people. It was a thing to make one blush at hearing it, to say nothing of beholding it. If it had happened to you at supper in the midst of your enormous draughts, who could fail to think it scandalous? But he, in an assembly of the people of Rome, in the midst of public business, being master of the horse, who might not even belch without disgrace, actually filled his own lap and the whole tribunal with the fragments, reeking with wine, of what he had eaten over night. But this he confesses himself to be one of the things of which he is ashamed: let us proceed to his more noble acts.

Cæsar returned from Alexandria, happy in his own

¹ The play on the word Hippias, derived from ἵππος, a horse, is untranslatable.

racæ also undoubtedly have the same origin, especially the Raeti, whom their very country has rendered savage, so that they retain nothing of their ancient [customs]¹ except the sound of their language, and not even that uncorrupted.

Of the passage of the Gauls into Italy we are told this: in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus² at Rome, the supreme government of the Celts,³ who form the third part of Gaul,⁴ was in the hands of the Bituriges; they gave a king to the Celtic nation.⁵ This was Ambigatus, a man greatly distinguished⁶ by his merit and good fortune both private and public, for in his reign Gaul was so productive both in fruits of the earth and in men that the overflowing population seemed hardly capable of being governed. He being now himself of a great age, and desiring to relieve his kingdom of the too-oppressive multitude, declared that he would send his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Segovesus, two enterprising young men, to whatever settlements the gods should grant⁷ them by augury; let them encourage⁸ as great a number of men as they pleased to go with them, so that no nation might be able to resist them in their progress. Then the Hercynian forests⁹ were assigned by the lots¹⁰ to Segovesus; to Bellovesus the gods granted the much more pleasant route into Italy. He

¹ *Ex antiquo* [more].

² *Regnante*: B.C. 616-578, A.U.C. 147-185.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ *Quas pars Gallias tertia est*: for the grammar, cf. p. 40, n. 7: for the fact, *Caes. B.G.* I, i. 1.: 'Gallia est, omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli, appellantur.'

⁵ *Celtico*: cf. *ἡ δὲ Ἰσπερικόν*, &c.

⁶ *Praepollens*: cf. 'praepotente,' last ch.

⁷ *In quas dedissent sedes*: i.e. in eas sedes, quas. Cf. i. 38, 'haec de prisca Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida,' xxix. 6, 'ut mos est qui diu absunt,' xxxi. 41, 'caesi captique quos equites ab agmine fugientium interclusere.'

⁸ *Excitent*: p. 39, n. 4. *Qua*: p. 17, n. 2.

⁹ *Hercynii saltus* or 'Hercynia silva': described by *Caesar, B.G.* vi. 26: it was nine days' journey wide and sixty long. It is now called the Black Forest. *Saltus* is a woody glen, but sometimes, as here, hardly means more than 'forest.'

¹⁰ *Sortibus*: p. 47, n. 8.

TRANSLATION INTO LATIN PROSE.

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advancing line. Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry. No sudden burst of undisciplined valour, no nervous enthusiasm weakened the stability of their order; their flashing eyes were bent on the dark columns in their front, their measured tread shook the ground, their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation, their deafening shouts overpowered the dissonant cries that broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd as, slowly and with a horrid carnage, it was pushed by the incessant vigour of the attack to the farthest edge of the height. There the French reserve mixed with the struggling multitude, and endeavoured to sustain the fight; but the effort only increased the irremediable confusion; the mighty mass gave way, and like a loosened cliff went headlong down the steep; the rain flowed after in streams discoloured with blood, and eighteen hundred unwounded men, the remnant of six thousand unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill.

192. To the Earl of Chesterfield.—7th January, 1755.—Seven years, my Lord, have now passed, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it at last to the verge of publication without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. The shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with love, and found him a native of the rocks. Is not a patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground

4. It is used in sentences which imply iteration or indefinite frequency.

5. It is the mood of subordinate clauses in Oratio Obliqua.

CONSECUTION OF TENSES, CLAUSES ETC.

1. Primary tenses follow Primary, and Historical follow Historical.

2. The Primary tenses are Present, Future, Perfect
Historical tenses are Pluperfect, Aorist.

N.B. The Perfect Indefinite or Perfect without *have* in Latin is equivalent to the Greek Aorist.

3. The Optative mood in Greek supplies the Historical tenses of the Subjunctive; i.e. all the optative tenses are historical, all the subjunctive primary.

N.B. The three marks of a historical tense in Greek are:

1. Augment; 2. Dual in *-ην*; 3. Third person sing. and plur. of middle and passive in *-ο*. Of these marks the optative has the two latter.

4. A wish may be expressed in Greek by pure optative, or with *ὥφελον* etc.; in Latin by *utinam* etc., with subjunctive, or rarely by subjunctive alone.

Conditional Clauses.

The following are the more ordinary types.

I. Possibility, i.e. when the condition is assumed.

εἰ τοῦτο λέγεις, ἀμαρτάνεις } *If you say this, you err*
Si hoc dicis, erras

εἰ τοῦτο λέγεις, ἀμαρτήσῃ } *If you say this, you will err*
Si hoc dices, errabis

II. Slight Probability, i.e. when there is a slight reason to expect the fulfilment of the condition.

εἰὰν τοῦτο λέγῃς, ἀμαρτήσῃ } *If you say this, you will err*
Si hoc dicas, errabis

εἰὰν τοῦτο λέξῃς, ἀμαρτάνεις } *If you say this, you err*
Si hoc dicas, erras

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